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Quotations from Chairman Mao

The force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party.

The theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party is a great, glorious and correct Party.

This Party of ours has a bright future.

The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other.

Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others.

You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road.

Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit.

Without struggle, there is no progress.

If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end.

We must solidly unite all the forces of our Party under the organizational and disciplinary principles of democratic centralism.

Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office and school.

* * *

Build Party in Course of Struggle

- Editorial by Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i journal and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

We are warmly celebrating the 55th anniversary of the founding of the communist party of china today when great victories have been scored in the struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts.

under the leadership of our great leader chairman mao, our party has led hundreds of millions of people in winning the victory of the new democratic revolution and in achieving victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. during the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have smashed the schemes of liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism, and criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. more united and vigorous and with greater fighting strength than ever, our party is leading the people of all nationalities in the country in continuing their advance along the socialist road.

we have won great victories. however, very arduous tasks still confront us. our party is the vanguard of the proletariat. its basic programme is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the triumph of socialism over capitalism and the ultimate realization of communism. the whole party will have to wage protracted struggle in order to realize this programme. only if we bear in mind the party's basic programme, uphold its basic line and never lose sight of its ultimate aim can we successfully solve the question of party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

it is of utmost importance in the period of socialism to have clarity both in theory and practice on the question that the bourgeoisie exists "(boldface begins) right in the communist party (boldface ends)". in the current struggle against the right deviationist attempt, chairman mao made an incisive analysis of this question, thus developing marxism-leninism. in 1964 chairman mao pointed out in a directive concerning the socialist education movement: "(boldface begins) the bureaucrat

class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other (boldface ends)." chairman mao further pointed out: "(boldface begins) management itself is a matter of socialist education. if the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. if they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others (boldface ends)." chairman mao also stated: "(boldface begins) those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? these people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. we can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit (boldface ends)." this directive of chairman mao's and his important instructions during the great cultural revolution, particularly those issued since the start of the struggle against the right deviationist attempt, penetratingly expose the class nature of such party capitalist-roaders as liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping and analyze the characteristics and origin of the bourgeoisie in the party as well as the ways to defeat it. these instructions are of tremendous immediate importance and of far-reaching historic significance to our perseverance in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. all comrades in the party, especially the leading cadres, should conscientiously study and grasp them and draw profound lessons from them. in socialist society, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist, and essentially the relations among people are still class relations. we can maintain the character of our party as the vanguard of the proletariat only when we recognize the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the party, soberly understand that the capitalist-roaders are the main force endangering the party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, and continuously carry out the revolution against the bourgeoisie inside the party. only thus can our party lead the proletariat and other revolutionary

masses in successfully carrying out our country's socialist revolution and construction and, together with the revolutionary people the world over, in carrying the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction through to the end and waging a common struggle for the emancipation of all mankind.

the chinese communist party is a great, glorious and correct party, a party armed with marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought. the overwhelming majority of our party members and cadres represented by comrade mao tsetung, the great leader of our party, persist in serving the people whole-heartedly, are one with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and are resolute in their struggle against the bourgeoisie. many outstanding party members have played an exemplary vanguard role, advancing in the front ranks of the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment and leading the masses in heroic struggle. but there is no denying that the bourgeoisie does exist inside the party. as chairman mao has pointed out, among a part of the party membership, some have already changed, some are changing, and others may change if they cease being vigilant. as for those who committed the errors characteristic of the capitalist-roaders, most of them recognized their errors with the help of the party and the masses during the great cultural revolution, learned lessons and are continuing to advance along the road of revolution. but there are also people like teng hsiao-ping who cling to their errors and become unrepentant capitalist-roaders. our comrades must bear in mind chairman mao's teachings and persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. they should maintain close ties with the masses, take an active part in collective productive labour, warmly support the new socialist things, and strive for new achievements in all socialist endeavours. they should keep to the style of plain living and hard struggle, resist bourgeois corrosion, and consciously restrict bourgeois right. they should, in the course of struggle, conscientiously study marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought, remould their world outlook and strive to be true party members ideologically.

at present, we must concentrate on criticizing teng hsiao-ping and deepen the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts. the essential political characteristic of the capitalist-roaders is that they pursue the revisionist line.

in our struggle against them, the most important question to solve is that of political line, i.e., to use the marxist line to defeat their counter-revolutionary revisionist line. communist party members, particularly leading cadres, must take a firm and clear-cut stand, march in the van of the struggle, and go through tests and temper themselves. they must energetically lead the masses in combating teng hsiao-ping's revisionist line in connection with the concrete class struggle and two-line struggle on the various fronts. with regard to those comrades who have made mistakes, the principle of "(boldface begins) learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient (boldface ends)" should be applied. party organizations at all levels should take the initiative to strengthen party building ideologically and organizationally in the course of struggle.

our party is led by the central committee with our great leader chairman mao at its head and guided by his proletarian revolutionary line, and the masses of party members persevere in continuing the revolution and are opposed to restoration and retrogression; it is worthy of being the core of leadership of the whole chinese people and the mainstay of the socialist cause. the fact that we dare to expose the bourgeoisie inside the party shows that our party has the strength, confidence and ability to defeat it and thereby bring the entire bourgeoisie to utter defeat. the emergence of capitalist-roaders inside the party in no way obscures our party's radiance. isn't it true that the kunlun mountains still stand and have not fallen despite the emergence of liu shao-chi and company? isn't it true that mount lushan still stands and has not been levelled flat despite the emergence of the lin piao anti-party clique? and today, despite the emergence of teng hsiao-ping and the riot staged at tienanmen square by the handful of counter-revolutionaries, tienanmen, now that their scheme has been smashed, looks all the more magnificent. historical experience has over and over again shown that it is not easy to crush our party. as chairman mao has definitely declared, "(boldface begins) this party of ours has a bright future (boldface ends)."

Inner-Party Struggle and Party Development

by

Ch'ih Heng (池 恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Full of proletarian revolutionary pride, we are greeting the 55th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in the excellent situation in which great victories have been scored in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. The series of important instructions given by Chairman Mao in the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a great development of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also a great development of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the Party. Deepening our study of Chairman Mao's important instructions, conscientiously summing up the experience in the two-line struggle within the Party and persisting in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will go a long way toward strengthening Party building both ideologically and organizationally and further spur the great cause of continuing the Party-led revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Engels said: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." ("To A. Babel," Selected Work of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 434) Chairman Mao has pointed out: "If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." (On Contradiction") "Without struggle, there is no progress." These words of the proletarian revolutionary teachers have profoundly summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement and our own Party and penetratingly set out the universal law governing the progress and development of the proletariat and its political party. It is imperative to recognize and grasp this law and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in order to strengthen Party building and promote the development of the Party.

A proletarian political party is the product of the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie and a tool in its hands for waging the struggle. The formation of the party is the outcome of class struggle, and as long as the party exists, there is inner-party struggle that reflects the class struggle. The Chinese Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat in China. During the period of the democratic revolution, our Party led the people throughout the country to wage a long revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war in order to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. In the process, the question of linking the united front with armed struggle touched off repeated struggles between the two lines in the Party. With the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becoming the principal social contradiction after the period of socialist revolution set in, the two-line struggle on the question of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road has never stopped within the Party. This struggle will continue throughout the entire historical period of socialism. Only by observing Party life

through the viewpoint of class struggle can we truly understand the inevitability of inner-Party struggle, be ideologically prepared to wage a protracted struggle within the Party and build and develop the Party through it.

Under the conditions of socialism, inner-Party struggle is mainly struggle waged by the Marxists in the Party against the capitalist roaders and the bourgeoisie inside the Party, a mirror of the struggle between the two big antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. A characteristic of the capitalist roaders is the use of their power to pursue a revisionist line. Therefore, the class struggle inside the Party crystalizes into a struggle between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. In a directive concerning the socialist education movement in 1964, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." Chairman Mao further pointed out in this directive: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the target of the struggle, the target of the revolution and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit." Studying this important directive by Chairman Mao, we come to a deeper understanding of the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party." The concepts "the bureaucrat class" and "those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road" used by Chairman Mao have clearcut class content. By these concepts, he referred to the capitalist roaders, to the bourgeoisie inside the Party during the period of socialism. Members of the bourgeoisie in the Party such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing oppress and exploit the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants both politically and economically, and are in a state of sharp class struggle with them. They are the main target of the socialist revolution. They hold in their hands a considerable portion of power in the Party and the state, which they use to implement and enforce their revisionist line from above in order to restore capitalism throughout, from the economic base to the superstructure, so that they can turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They are more vicious and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. That is why we must see through the bourgeois reactionary nature of the capitalist roaders, understand that inner-Party struggle is a momentous aspect of the class struggle, and be resolute in using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to defeat the bourgeois revisionist line.

Some people believe that since the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, there should be no contradictions and struggle within the Party, and as such the Party should be very pure. This is a naive way of thinking which runs counter to materialist dialectics. "The law of contradiction in things--that is, the law of the unity of opposites--is the most basic law of materialist dialectics." ("On Contradiction") In the world, one thing divides into two, purity is relative, only impurity is absolute, and movement and change result from the unity and struggle of opposites in contradiction. This is the basic law of development of all things, including the Party. Our Party does not live in a vacuum but in an environment of extremely complicated class struggle. During the democratic revolution,

especially when the revolution was in a high tide of development, a mixture of the genuine and false was inevitable; a very small number of spies, renegades, alien class elements and other undesirable elements took the advantage to sneak into the Party. Nor was it unusual for some who had accepted the minimum program of the Party to varying degrees to join the Party ranks with thoughts of the bourgeois democratic revolution. After liberation, with the gradual deepening of the socialist revolution, divisions constantly took place within the Party ranks. A portion of those in the Party who clung to their bourgeois stand refused to remold their ideology and advance; they were opposed to the socialist revolution and became capitalist roaders in power. The existence of classes and class struggle, of bourgeois rights and of the influence of the international bourgeoisie and revisionism has made possible the emergence of new bourgeois elements in the Party. The contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within the Party inevitably crystalize into the struggle between the two classes and the two lines inside the Party. It is only through this struggle that the Party can develop and advance.

Chairman Mao has always stressed that in Party building, inner-Party activities should be guided by materialist dialectics and that progress and development can only come through struggle. While speaking on Party consolidation during the cultural revolution, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A human being has arteries and veins through which the heart makes the blood circulate, and he breathes with his lungs, exhaling carbon dioxide and inhaling fresh oxygen, that is, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh. A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh, for only thus can it be full of vitality. Without eliminating waste matter and absorbing fresh blood the Party has no vigor." In simple and vivid language, Chairman Mao profoundly explains the dialectics of the contradictions within the Party and the objective law that the Party can maintain its vitality only through persisting in inner-Party struggle. In history, the slave-owning class, the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie were full of vigor, revolutionary and progressive and were real tigers before they gained ruling power and for a period afterward. But gradually they turned into their opposites, reactionary and backward, and became paper tigers and stumbling blocks to the development of society and the advance of history. The proletariat is "a most far-sighted, selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary class," an advanced class that strives vigorously for communism. The seizure of political power is only the start of the long march of ten thousand li of the proletarian revolution, the historical task of the proletariat being to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and abolish all classes. A proletarian party should bring into focus these class characteristics of the proletariat, educate the proletariat and the masses of people to know their own historical task and to resolutely strive for its realization. However, the Party's proletarian character and thorough-going revolutionary spirit can only be preserved and promoted in struggle. If the inner-Party struggle were not persisted in and the capitalist roaders' revisionist line not defeated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and if the revisionist line dominated the Party, the nature of the Party would change. The Soviet Communist Party, founded and led by Lenin, was once full of vitality. But later when the Soviet revisionist

renegade clique usurped the leadership it changed into a revisionist party, a bourgeois party, a fascist party and an extremely reactionary and corrupt political force. Does not this historical experience, with its negative and positive, international and domestic aspects, make it crystal clear that persistence in inner-Party struggle is of paramount importance in opposing revisionism and preventing its occurrence and in strengthening Party building?

Whether or not to persist in inner-Party struggle marks the difference in principle between Chairman Mao's line and the revisionist line in Party building. Chieftains of the revisionist lines like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing propagated the dying out of class struggle in Party building to suit their own counter-revolutionary political needs. They either negated the class content of the struggle inside the Party by distorting it as a struggle between individuals, or attacked it as a "man-made contradiction," denying the fact that struggle exists within the Party. These absurdities went directly against the Marxist-Leninist thesis of proletarian dictatorship and the theory on Party building. The propagation of the dying out of class struggle in Party building by these arch revisionists is hypocritical double-dealing aimed at covering up their frenzied attacks against the Party and the proletariat. While babbling about "making concessions to achieve unity," Liu Shao-ch'i did his best to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers and rig up a bourgeois headquarters. While saying nonsensically that "when two live in harmony, they become friends," Lin Piao engaged in plotting a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat to overthrow the proletariat. While negating the existence of line struggle within the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and stepped up the organization of "a "home-going contingent," showing his impatience to reverse the verdicts of and settle the old scores with the great cultural revolution. It is obvious that the chieftains of the revisionist lines in the Party, by obliterating and distorting the inner-Party struggle, attempted to ideologically disarm all Party members in the face of the serious class and line struggle, so that they might wantonly carry out the activities of restoring capitalism and change the proletarian nature of the Party and the state. This tells us by negative example that it is necessary to deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and further eradicate the pernicious influence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidarity of its own organization." ("On Contradiction")
We must continuously consolidate and develop Party unity and strive for greater victories in the revolutionary cause by adhering to Chairman Mao's correct line and criticizing the revisionist line. To oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, these chieftains of the revisionist line, always carried out counter-revolutionary activities organizationally to undermine Party unity in an attempt to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. To safeguard Party unity, it is essential to carry out resolute struggle against the splittist activities by revisionist chieftains within the Party. At present, it is necessary for us to deepen the criticism of Teng and eliminate his pernicious influence and further develop the struggle against the Right

deviationist wind in order to strengthen the unity of the whole Party on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the course of struggle, it is essential to implement Chairman Mao's consistent policies, pay attention to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and take correct measures to deal with them. It is essential to resolutely criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and, in dealing with cadres who have erred, to apply the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient." It is essential to carry out the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind under the unified leadership of Party committees at all levels without establishing mountain strongholds or organizing fighting groups. Party organizations must persist in grasping revolution and promoting production, other work and preparedness against war, and they must ardently support new socialist things, be vigilant against sabotage by class enemy, and press ahead with all tasks along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

During his inspection tour between August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing the Internationale for fifty years, yet on ten occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another ten, twenty or thirty times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no more struggle when we get to communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won't get by, it won't stand up." In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, he also said: "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution." In these brilliant theses Chairman Mao expounds the protracted nature of the class struggle and two-line struggle inside the Party and expresses the revolutionary optimism that is characteristic of the proletariat. In history, a revolutionary class must go through a protracted and repeated contest of strength before it defeats the counter-revolutionary class. It would be impossible for the proletariat to completely overthrow the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat and capitalism with socialism and to ultimately realize communism without fierce and tempestuous struggles, without arduous and tortuous clashes. All genuine Marxists plunge into the heat of the struggle with full confidence that a bright future lies ahead. He who evades contradictions and gets tired of struggle is not a Marxist.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "This Party of ours has a bright future." In more than half a century, our Party has undergone many major struggles between the two lines, and a number of chieftains of opportunist lines have emerged. However, none of them could stop the thrust of the proletarian revolutionary cause. As Chairman Mao's correct line defeated all opportunist lines, our Party has led the people of the whole country in winning the great victories of the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Thanks to the cultural revolution, our Party has become purer, stronger, developed and expanded. Those who determine the direction of

history are the proletariat and the masses of people who demand continued revolution, and not any social group and force that vainly attempt to restore capitalism and go backward, including the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line conforms to the objective law of historical development and represents the fundamental interests of the proletariat and the masses of people, and as such is invincible. On the other hand, chieftains of revisionist lines in the Party represent the bourgeoisie, act pervertedly, have no truth and go against the will of the people; as such, they are extremely isolated and are bound to fall. So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, persevere in the philosophy of struggle and rally closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, we will certainly bring bourgeois schemes for restoration to ignominious bankruptcy. We will win complete victory for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, irrespective of the number of struggles we must go through and of whatever changes take place in the form of struggle.

* * *

/ Excerpts of this article were carried by NCNA, July 11 - SPRCM Ed. /

It Is Impermissible to Transform the Party in the Image of Capitalist Roaders

by

Lu Yang (路阳)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

In his plan of action for "overall rectification" aimed at reversing verdicts, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing repeatedly stressed that "the core is Party rectification." How did he propose to "rectify" the Party? As can be seen clearly from his reactionary words and deeds whipping up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, he wanted to transform the Party in the image of capitalist roaders in an attempt to "rectify" our proletarian revolutionary party into a revisionist party, a fascist party, a tool to be used by him to restore capitalism.

The great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party is a revolutionary Party personally founded and fostered by Chairman Mao, the vanguard of the proletariat armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The history of our Party is one of revolutionary victories continuously won by the Party through its struggle against all kinds of erroneous lines within the Party and against enemies at home and abroad under Chairman Mao's leadership. The practice of protracted revolutionary struggle proves that our Party will go astray if it deviates from Chairman Mao's leadership and from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, by raising a hue and cry about "Party rectification," first of all tried to replace the Party's guiding thought--Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought--with revisionist ideology so as to make our Party deviate from Chairman Mao's leadership and to change the nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Last September, Teng Hsiao-p'ing clamored that a problem which "now exists throughout the Party" was "to cut off Chairman Mao's viewpoint." This was downright slander and attack against our Party. What he meant by "cutting off" referred to Chairman Mao's teaching on taking class struggle as the key link, and what he meant by "inseparable" was to overthrow Chairman Mao's teaching on taking class struggle as the key link and place it with "taking three directives as the key link." Teng Hsiao-p'ing is precisely a revisionist who has done his best to cut off Chairman Mao's viewpoint. He emasculated the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and completely negated the theory of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He wanted to use "taking the three directives as the key link" as concocted by him to nullify all the important instructions given by Chairman Mao since the founding of the People's Republic, the great cultural revolution and the movement to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and to forbid everyone to study and apply them. By so doing, didn't he completely cut off and betray Mao Tsetung Thought? He passed off secondary issues for the primary goal, and went all out to use eclectic tricks to put them all on a par, for no purpose other than to tamper with the theoretical basis of our Party's guiding thought and impose revisionism on the Party.

Our Party Constitution clearly stipulates: "The basic program of the Communist Party of China is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism." This program clearly shows the proletarian nature of our Party. All the work led by our Party is aimed at the realization of this program. By taking "the three directives as the key link" as the "general program for all work of the Party and the nation" for a long time to come and madly crying aloud that "everything is for modernization" and all work should revolve around this goal, Teng Hsiao-p'ing thus completely altered the Party's basic program. Our ultimate aim is to realize communism, and this is ABC for a communist. By talking only about "four modernizations" without ever mentioning the abolition of classes, and class distinctions and the great goal of communism, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing want to turn our Party into a "production party?" Opposing struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, what he meant by "modernization" was modernization "irrespective of white cat or black cat," and in the end, China would be reduced to a colony of imperialism and social-imperialism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's desire to remove the Party's ultimate aim does not begin today. As early as 1956, he said: "It is not necessary to include in the Party Constitution the clause--fight for communism." It can be seen that in his mind communism has never existed. Chairman Mao says: "There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically. Those who have not yet joined the Party ideologically still carry a great deal of the muck of the exploiting classes in their heads, and have no idea at all of what proletarian ideology, or communism, or the Party is." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") Isn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing such a person Chairman Mao criticizes? If the Party is "rectified" according to his ideology, how can its nature remain unchanged? If a Communist Party does not dedicate itself to the fight for communism, what kind of Communist Party will it be?

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Our Party building is always "closely connected with the Party's political line." ("Introducing The Communist") During the period of the democratic revolution, Party building was inseparable from armed struggles and the united front. During the period of socialist revolution, Party building is inseparable from its basic line, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Whatever a period is, we shall not be able to correctly solve the question of what kind of a party is to be built and how if we depart from the Party's political line. By promoting the theory of the dying out of class struggle and pushing a revisionist line in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has shamelessly betrayed the fundamental principle of a Marxist-Leninist party. The proletariat needs its own party because it wants to effectively struggle against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Chairman Mao points out: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous and vital organization of vanguards which can lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the class enemy." Our Party must persist in following the basic line set by Chairman Mao for the entire historical period of socialism, and lead the

proletariat and the revolutionary masses in unceasingly carrying out the socialist revolution in the realms of the economic base and the superstructure, in restricting bourgeois rights, in gradually narrowing the three major differences, in creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new one to arise, as well as marching toward the lofty goal of communism. It will not be a proletarian party if it deviates from its basic line, believes in what Teng Hsiao-p'ing says and fails to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the bourgeoisie and to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This instruction of Chairman Mao's tells us that to wage a positive struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party is our basic task in strengthening Party building. The capitalist roaders within the Party are political representatives of the bourgeoisie, both old and new. Chieftains of the revisionist lines like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are commanders of all social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to and sabotage socialist construction in their trial of strength with the proletariat. They may use the power in their hands to push ahead with a revisionist line in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and are ruthless and quick in restoring capitalism. Therefore, opposition to the bourgeoisie within the Party, the capitalist roaders and their revisionist line is a concentrated expression of the life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This struggle concerns the life of the Party and the fate and future of the whole country. If we want to consolidate the Party, we should emphasize rectifying those in power within the Party taking the capitalist road. Over past years, under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao, our Party has acted in this way and will continue to do so. Does Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "Party rectification" mean rectification of the bourgeoisie within the Party? How can he do that since he protects them? The criticism of the capitalist roaders during the great proletarian cultural revolution has upset him to such an extent that he has madly clamored "this section of people have been hurt" and tried by all possible means to help unrepentant capitalist roaders onto the stage of power. As is admitted in the sinister document "The General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and Whole Nation" dished up on his order, what he wanted to "rectify" are the Chinese Communists who uphold Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. He regarded the proletariat and the working people as "class enemies" and vainly attempted to turn our Party into a fascist party under the exclusive control of the bourgeoisie within the Party.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a most extensive and profound party rectification movement in the history of our Party. During this movement Party members and cadres have conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, criticized the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and considerably enhanced their awareness of class struggle, the struggle between the two lines and the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their mentality has undergone drastic changes. At the same time, by getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, our Party organization has become purer and stronger. On the basis

of the five requirements set forth by Chairman Mao for successors to the cause of revolution, leading groups of the Party at all levels have carried out the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young and thus have become more vigorous than ever. These achievements of Party building gained during the great proletarian cultural revolution are an important sign of the prosperity of our Party. Yet taking the reactionary bourgeois stand, Teng Hsiao-p'ing unscrupulously slandered and attacked our Party and negated everything from ideological to organizational building of the Party. He alleged: "Many problems exist within the Party; problems concerning composition, ideology and workstyle are all very serious." It is not surprising at all that he should describe our Party as a gloomy body. What we regard as a good thing he always regards as bad. Since our stand is different from his, our yardstick in viewing problems is also different from his. In plain truth, he wants to "rectify" our Party because he wants to overthrow the verdicts of the great proletarian cultural revolution and settle accounts with it. What he means by "the core is Party rectification" is that transforming the Party in the image of capitalist roaders is the core of his attempt to reverse verdicts and restore capitalism. Our Party is the ruling party, and exercises leadership in everything. Teng Hsiao-p'ing says: "With a good party taking the lead, everything else will go smoothly." This means that if the Party becomes a revisionist party, it will be easy to carry out an all-round capitalist restoration. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this teacher by negative example, tells us how important it is to criticize the revisionist line on Party building, to follow Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in intensifying Party building, and to consolidate and develop the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Chairman Mao has said: "The proletariat wants to transform the world according to its own world outlook while the bourgeoisie also wants to transform the world according to its own world outlook." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") That Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly tries to transform the Party in the image of capitalist roaders is determined by his reactionary bourgeois nature. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has never been a proletarian revolutionary, but a bourgeois democrat. In his head exists a bourgeois kingdom, and his political ideal is to establish a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with himself at the core. It is natural that he wants to transform our Party into a bourgeois party. At the same time, this also reflects the desire and demands of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, especially "high officials" who practice revisionism. After the victory of the democratic revolution, a number of people within the Party stood still. Some who have become high officials want to use their power to defend and expand bourgeois rights; hence, they are afraid of and oppose the revolution. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to transform the Party in the image of capitalist roaders precisely suits their needs. This fully illustrates the reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "rectification" of the Party.

In 1942, criticizing those who tried to transform the Party in the image of the petty bourgeoisie, great leader Chairman Mao pointed out incisively: "That won't work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big

bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country. Whom then must we yield to? We can mold the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") When Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to transform the Party in the image of capitalist roaders, likewise we must not yield to him. To yield to him will be to yield to the bourgeoisie, and our Party would turn revisionist, our country will change color, and capitalism will be restored. We must persistently follow Chairman Mao's line on Party building and constantly strengthen Party building in the image of the proletarian vanguard. We must conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao as well as Chairman Mao's important instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We must roundly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We must clearly understand the question that the bourgeoisie is right in the Party, and identify the character, target, tasks and prospects of the socialist revolution. We must raise our ability to recognize the capitalist roaders and enhance our awareness of the struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party so as to build our Party in a such way that it will become more glorious, greater and more correct.

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Leading Cadres Must Consciously Restrict Bourgeois Rights

by

Li Hsin (黎新)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Conscious restriction of bourgeois rights by leading cadres is fraught with particularly vital significance. Our Party is the ruling party. Our leading cadres represent the masses of the people in attending to the revolutionary undertakings of certain departments, areas and units, and are specifically assigned to lead the masses in carrying out socilaist revolution and construction. Their positions and authority are given by the revolutionary people and these should be used only to serve the people and in the interests of the vast majority. Providing leading cadres with leading positions and leadership duties is an essential division of work in revolutionary work; they are essentially different from the bureaucrats of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Chairman Mao often teaches us: "The cadres of the Party and the state are ordinary laborers, not lords riding roughshod over the people." "They should be both 'officials' and common people." Our leading cadres, whatever their rank or power, are servants of the people and are ordinary laborers. However, due to the inevitable existence of bourgeois rights, grades and differences in the period of socialism, there is a likelihood of leading cadres turning the authority given them by the Party and the people into personal privileges and the danger of their degenerating into bourgeois lords. The bourgeoisie often uses this and other notions of the exploiting classes--such as promotions to higher official positions and getting rich quick and leading a comfortable life--to corrupt and woo them. The force of old habit not infrequently identifies the leading cadres with the bureaucrats of the old society and this gives rise to practices such as currying favors with and "giving consideration" to them whenever there is a chance to do so. In these circumstances, only by consciously restricting bourgeois rights can leading cadres retain the true political features of an ordinary laborer, resist the attack of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, and appropriately hold and exercise power on behalf of the proletariat. If we lack a correct understanding of bourgeois rights, seeing only their inevitability but losing sight of the danger of their engendering the bourgeoisie, if we use our authority to extend and develop these rights instead of consciously restricting them, then we shall turn our comradely relationship with the masses into antagonistic relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This tendency will turn us into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the laboring people and make us the target of the revolution until we are finally overthrown by the revolutionary masses.

In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao pointed out:"With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

He added: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still,they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's have penetratingly revealed an important reason why Party capitalist roaders oppose the socialist revolution, and that is that they oppose the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights and want to protect the interests of high officials who practice revisionism. This is as true for Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as it is for Teng Hsiao-p'ing. As "enthusiasts for bourgeois rights," they look upon general extension of bourgeois rights as a bridge to capitalist restoration, using extension of bourgeois rights as bait to lure a number of people to take the capitalist road. If leading cadres fail to consciously restrict bourgeois rights, they will very likely follow the revisionist line in the fierce struggle between the two lines and slide down the evil path opposing the socialist revolution to become members of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. On this question, the capitalist roaders in the Party are fine teachers by negative example, and we should take warning from them.

Whether our socialist revolution and construction and our work on various fronts in the period of socialism advance or move backward, triumph or fail, is closely related to the struggle for or against the restriction of bourgeois rights. We are of course still in the historical period of socialist society, having merely established a bourgeois state without capitalists and in which bourgeois rights have not been completely abolished. However, as we persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the development of the revolution has perforce imposed on us the task to "restrict (bourgeois rights) under the dictatorship of the proletariat." The most fundamental task of leading cadres is to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and the restriction of bourgeois rights constitutes an important aspect of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. To do their work well, leading cadres should ardently support and lead the masses to actively develop socialist new things, an essential characteristic of which is the restriction of bourgeois rights from various aspects. If we do not have the consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights and instead pursue and extend them, can we appropriately implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Can we ardently support and lead the masses to develop socialist new things? "Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others."

For leading cadres to consciously restrict bourgeois rights is in keeping with the glorious tradition of proletarian revolution, exemplifying the revolutionary principle consistently embodied in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Following the establishment of the Paris Commune, one of the revolutionary measures adopted internally was to abolish high salaries, forbid people to draw two salaries, do away with privileges, narrow differences in wages, and adopt the decision on the abolition of military titles of generals. These measures aimed for preventing the state and state organs from transforming from servants of society to its masters served to restrict bourgeois rights. As these measures embodied the thoroughgoing revolutionary

spirit of the proletariat, they were highly commended by Marx and Engels, and even today they enlighten us in no small way. After the October Revolution, Lenin placed very strong emphasis on the need to adhere to the revolutionary principles of the Paris Commune. Under Lenin's leadership, the Soviet Communist Party and government at that time adopted a series of measures that politically, ideologically and in respect of the distribution system restricted bourgeois rights to prevent leading cadres at all levels from using their positions and influence to obtain privileges and thus lose their good qualities. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party in the long years of the revolutionary war practiced military communism. There were few grades and little salary. Equality between officers and men and unity between army and people prevailed. This was proper restriction of bourgeois rights. On the eve of liberation, Chairman Mao reminded the comrades of the whole Party in time to guard against the bourgeois "attack of sugar-coated bullets" and to prevent and overcome "cravings for the pleasures of life and reluctance to undergo hardships again." After the period of socialism set in, Chairman Mao even more repeatedly instructed us to criticize the idea of bourgeois rights. Moreover, he adopted a series of important measures for restricting bourgeois rights from various aspects, including reducing the salaries of leading cadres, abolition of military titles, introduction of the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor, application of the principle of "two participations, one reform and three-in-one combination" in enterprises, the assignment of managerial personnel to the shop floor to work, study and live with and learn skills from the workers, etc., so as to prevent cadres, especially leading ones, turning from servants of the people into bourgeois lords. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing created various pretexts to oppose the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights in a despicable betrayal of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and of the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat. We must deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, more properly adhere to the Marxist revolutionary principles and the glorious tradition of proletarian revolution, uphold the series of important measures formulated for us by Chairman Mao, wholeheartedly support all socialist new things that help restrict bourgeois rights and narrow the three major differences, and resolutely fight against all erroneous ideas and tendencies that resist and oppose the restriction of bourgeois rights.

Some people try to uphold and extend bourgeois rights by arguing that "if we have won no merit, we have put in hard work, and even if we have not put in no hard work, we have tired ourselves out." What kind of "logic" is this? It is none other than the capitalist "logic" of commodity transactions and exchange of equal values. These people in fact regard participation in revolutionary work as "entering into a partnership to share dividends," that is, to secure political capital with which to gain personal gain and position. Clearly, this is utterly incompatible with our Party's proletarian character and its aim of wholeheartedly serving the people. We Communists have never cared for individual merits. Our slogan can only be "Fear neither hardship nor death." To live up to this slogan, many revolutionary forerunners laid down their lives in the interests of the people. Is there any reason for us to argue about our respective merits and rest on the so-called laurels of "merit," "hard work" and "fatique" in order to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights, a "birthmark" of the old society?

It is also wrong for some to uphold and extend bourgeois rights on the pretext of "work requirements." Because leading cadres assume different duties, what they require sometimes varies. Our Party has always disapproved of absolute egalitarianism. However, we must not try to extend bourgeois rights and widen the differences in grades on the pretext of "work requirements." For this will not only corrupt the leading cadres themselves and cause them to divorce from the masses but will bring harm to society and the revolutionary ranks as a whole. In order to perform revolutionary work well, it is essential that first of all we cherish the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly, cultivate the fine workstyle of keeping in close contact with the masses and display the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. In other words, revolutionary work requires the leading cadres to set themselves as example in restricting bourgeois rights, and not to extend them. We should note that the bourgeoisie and the force of old habit often use "requirement" as a pretext to please the leading cadres and open a breach in their thinking. Haven't some people been hit by this kind of sugar-coated bullet in the form of "requirement" with the result that far from disliking them as they did in the past, they have become attached to and chased after the vulgar practices of the bourgeoisie and thus become the captives of the bourgeoisie? We should make a class analysis of what is termed "requirement." Nothing is further away from the "work requirement" of a proletarian revolutionary than divorcing oneself from reality, assuming the airs of superiority, pomposity, living in luxury and showing off. These are vulgar bourgeois practices and corrupt habits, having only the effect of eroding our minds and work. Dealing with the influence on the working class of the decadent social practices of the bourgeoisie, Engels said: "What is most despicable is that bourgeois-type 'honor' that has gone into the hearts of the workers. Society is divided into many publicly acknowledged classes, with eaching class having its own sense of self-dignity but at the same time also having an inherent mentality of showing respect for a class which is 'better' and 'higher' than itself. This mentality has existed for so long and so deepseated that it becomes quite easy for the property owners to practice deception." ("To F.A. Sorge," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 468) The urge to show one's honor and dignity with a higher class is a common trait of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Members of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing also possess this trait. If this corrupt bourgeois practice is allowed to contaminate our revolutionary ranks, it can only cause people to foster the gradation concept and to vie for fame and gain without a sense of shame but with a sense of honor. This will only facilitate the bourgeois attempt to corrupt others and seek restoration. In restricting bourgeois rights and criticizing the idea of bourgeois rights today, we should include the criticism of this decadent practice and resolutely combat it.

The key to raising our consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights lies in our conscientious efforts to remold our world outlook. We should proceed from the world outlook in resolving the question of becoming one with the ordinary laborers. Once this question is resolved, it will then be possible to completely get rid of the bourgeois ideology and style of work, such as the mentality of regarding the leadership as wiser than everyone else and equating an official with an overlord. This is fundamental to raising one's consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights. By making conscientious

efforts to transform their world outlook and enhance their awareness of combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution, many comrades are able to keep advancing with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants along the course of the socialist revolution. A number of veteran revolutionary comrades have struggled hard for decades without caring for position and remuneration, cultivating close ties with the masses whatever their "official ranks." By consciously persisting in participating in collective productive labor, a number of new cadres who assumed leading posts during the great proletarian cultural revolution are able to retain the true features of ordinary laborers, resolved that "in no time will we separate ourselves from the worker and peasant masses." This revolutionary spirit and these advanced deeds are inspiring and worthy of our careful study.

The present deepening struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts serves as a profound class in class and line struggle as well as a class in the penetrating restriction of bourgeois rights. Leading cadres at all levels must conscientiously study the series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, accept education from both the positive and negative aspects, and further raise their consciousness of restricting bourgeois rights. This is an important aspect in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as an important factor in doing leadership work well.

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Deepen the Criticism of Teng, Strengthen Party Building

- Investigation of Sungchiachuang Brigade, Lin County, Honan

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

In the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Sungchiachuang Brigade links up study with criticism. In light of reality, it penetratingly criticizes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and pays attention to conducting ideological education among Party members. It has strengthened the ideological building of the Party and raised its fighting power in the course of struggle. This has caused the Party organization and Party members to show greater vim and vigor. A further boost is given to the successful unfolding of various tasks.

How does this brigade strengthen Party building in the course of penetratingly criticizing Teng?

First, in compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching "Seriously read and study, and master Marxism," they organize Party members and cadres to seriously study theory and Chairman Mao's series of important directives, grasp the ideological weapon in criticizing Teng, and strengthen the concept of fighting a protracted battle with the bourgeoisie within the Party.

Under the excellent situation marked by the great victories scored in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, how should the movement be deepened further? Some comrades say: Now that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has fallen, what should be studied has been studied and what should be criticized has been criticized, the movement is more or less over. The Party branch holds that this is a wrong idea and the main reason for the rise of this wrong idea is that these comrades have not studied Chairman Mao's important instructions sufficiently to have a real understanding of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, an adequate understanding of the class essence and reactionary nature of capitalist roaders and the concept of fighting a protracted battle with the bourgeoisie within the Party. So the Party branch uses the evening political school to give full play to the role of the poor and lower-middle peasant theoretical contingent. It sponsors four Party lectures with the nature, tasks, target and prospects of the socialist revolution as topics. Each lecture is studied and discussed in connection with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and his crimes in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism and with the past and present two-class and two-line struggle in the brigade so as to achieve a real understanding of the letter and spirit of Chairman Mao's important instructions both in theory and practice. Practice shows that such a way of study yields very satisfactory results.

Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This is Chairman Mao's great development of

the Marxist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Without understanding this, we cannot talk about having the consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and Communist Party members cannot play the role as proletarian vanguard fighters. Therefore, in linking reality with the criticism of Teng, they lay the emphasis on studying and discussing the problem of fighting against the bourgeoisie within the Party. In light of the concrete struggle in the brigade, they analyze the characteristics of Party capitalist roaders' movements and sum up the experience of struggle against capitalist roaders. The history of class struggle in the Sungchiachuang brigade shows that in every major class struggle, the source of capitalist wind has invariably come from within the Party, with the chieftains of the revisionist line giving commands from the above and the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of class enemies stirring up trouble below. In the three-year period of temporary difficulties, the broad masses persisted in building the Red Flag Canal, but the capitalist roaders forced them to stop. In the great cultural revolution, the broad masses persisted in grasping revolution and promoting production, with per-mow grain output crossing the "Yellow River," but later, due to Party capitalist-roaders' interference, stirring up the capitalist evil wind and sabotaging the collective economy, per-mow grain output again retreated to the north of the "Yellow River." Last year, as the broad masses were studying theory, criticizing Water Margin, and whipping up a new upsurge in learning from Tachai in agriculture, the capitalist-roaders again vigorously whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, with class enemies in the brigade clamoring, "It is time we reared our heads." The masses said: Such a capitalist roader as Teng Hsiao-p'ing is most dangerous in restoring capitalism as he has a signboard and power. If he were allowed to do what he wanted, we would suffer again. In the future, we must keep an eye not only on the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists in society at large, but on the capitalist roaders within the Party as well.

In the past some Party members had the idea of "being old good people" and dared not grasp class struggle within the Party. Some, while saying struggle was "protracted," wanted it to be "short." Through study, everyone understood the law governing class struggle in the period of socialism and further fostered the idea of waging a protracted struggle with the bourgeoisie within the Party. Through an analysis of the concrete class struggle, they realized that Teng Hsiao-p'ing's downfall was by no means the end of struggle and that to discredit that revisionist line of his and eliminate its remaining poisonous influence took more than one or two days. So long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and so long as bourgeois rights are still present, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party will always translate their hopes for restoration into action for restoration, and the proletariat's struggle against them will never cease. Everyone said: "There is a lot to criticize about Teng, and the task is still arduous. Our fight against the bourgeoisie within the Party has to be passed on from generation to generation. We won't come off the battlefield unless we kill all jackals."

To increase everyone's ability to discern and resist the bourgeoisie within the Party, the Party branch of Sungchiachuang brigade, in the course of deeply criticizing Teng and analyzing Teng's evolution from a bourgeois democrat to an unrepentant capitalist roader, urged the Party members and cadres

to consciously overcome the ideas of bourgeois democrats, raise their socialist consciousness, persist in combating and preventing revisionism, and continue the revolution.

Why does Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who has participated in revolution for so many years, become a bourgeois representative? Everyone seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instruction: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." Through discussion, everyone realized that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has never been a Marxist. As a fellow-traveller he joined the Party with the views of a bourgeois democrat. After gaining admission into the Party, he refused to transform his world outlook. The revolution moved forward, but his thinking still remained at the stage of the democratic revolution. He stubbornly clung to the bourgeois stand and world outlook and represented the interests of the bourgeoisie. His participation in the revolution did not result from a desire to liberate the poor of the world,but from his aim to be a high official. And once he became a high official, he kicked out the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. This explained his inevitable opposition to the socialist revolution and his sharp antagonism to the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Such is the class and ideological origin of his longstanding opposition to Mao Tsetung Thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In Teng Hsiao-p'ing, a teacher by negative example, the Party members have seen that if a person is motivated by personal interests in joining revolution and refuses to accept Mao Tsetung Thought and transform his world outlook, he will drop out when the revolution is in a critical period. Only by persisting in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and consciously transforming his world outlook can a Communist forever maintain revolutionary vigor and follow Chairman Mao in making revolution throughout his life.

During the criticism of Teng, the Party branch made an analysis--in light of actual conditions--of the development of Party members in the brigade since the victory of the democratic revolution. Sungchiachuang is an old liberated area. Old Party members and old cadres who joined the Party before agricultural cooperation account for 60 percent of the total. Most of these comrades are able to persist in continuing the revolution and stand in the van of the three major revolutionary movements, leading the masses to forge ahead. But there is also a small number of Party members who dropped out of the ranks during the socialist revolution. Some did so after the land reform. Satisfied with "the good life with 30 mow of land and mules," bent on getting rich, and feeling that they would suffer from unified purchasing, they were unwilling to join the cooperatives. Others were hit by the sugar-coated bullets of landlords and rich peasants and became protective umbrellas for class enemies. Still others represented the interests of rich peasants and well-to-do peasants, attacked agricultural cooperation, opposed following the socialist road, and even denounced the great cultural revolution. Through such analyses, everyone saw that while there were many reasons why these Party members made mistakes, there was one common characteristic, and that was that though they joined the Party organizationally, due to their

failure to seriously transform their world outlook, their thinking still remained at the stage of the democratic revolution. Being small producers themselves, they joined the Party with a strong concept of private ownership. Although they accepted the Party's minimum program, they did not understand, nor were they prepared to realize, the Party's supreme program. The victory of the democratic revolution pleased them because it gave them land, houses, livestock and farm implements. But once they got these things, they felt their boat had come to a dock. They didn't intend to continue the revolution and even opposed the socialist revolution. These people were most responsive to the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Their thinking thus heightened, the Party members and cadres, in light of current ideology, "deeply plowed up" the thoughts of bourgeois democrats. This considerably raised their consciousness of continuing the revolution. They are determined to continue to transform their world outlook, make a thorough break with the small producer's concept of private ownership, and persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to turn themselves into proletarian vanguard fighters leading the broad masses to go forward in revolution.

While arousing the masses to penetratingly criticize Teng, leading members of the Sungchiachuang brigade Party branch also make a point of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacies in opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights. Setting themselves as example, they led the way in restricting bourgeois rights.

In the course of criticizing Teng, the brigade once encountered the following situation: when the flames of mass criticism were burning high, they suddenly tapered off. Why? The Party branch made a check and found that the masses did not like certain cadres who extended bourgeois rights. This incident set the members of the Party branch to deep thinking. Chairman Mao has profoundly pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it." Bourgeois rights provide the soil engendering capitalism and new bourgeois elements, and are an important condition enabling the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party to oppose the socialist revolution and restore capitalism. It is precisely by exploiting the extension of bourgeois rights that Teng Hsiao-p'ing has strengthened the social foundation for capitalist restoration. Members of the Party branch must not only lead the masses in making revolution against the borugeoisie inside the Party, but also guard themselves against being made captives of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Therefore, they must take the lead in criticizing and restricting bourgeois rights. Given this understanding, the Party branch took the initiative to listen to the views and opinions of the poor and lower-middle peasants and chat with them on a broad range of subjects. The secretary of the Party branch is a new cadre who emerged during the great cultural revolution. He is strict in self-analysis. During the criticism of Teng, proceeding from how to discern and resist revisionism, he took the lead in making criticism based on actual conditions. He said thoughtfully: "To protect the interests of high officials, Teng Hsiao-p'ing did his utmost to extend bourgeois rights. We must resist the revisionist corruption. In the past, I used to think that

born to a poor peasant family and raised under the red flag, I was immune to revisionist influence. But the fact is not so. When I became a Party branch secretary, my position has changed. If I don't transform my thinking, I won't be able to recognize such a bigshot who practices revisionism as Teng Hsiao-p'ing. I may be cheated and stumble." Under the guidance of the Party branch secretary, the brigade's Party members and cadres, bearing the reality in mind, seriously criticized the idea of bourgeois rights and eliminated such erroneous ideas as taking authority for privilege and the notion that "should we become cadres if we work without benefit?" They said: Our power is given by the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants entrust us with a job, and we have only the obligation to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, adhere to the socialist road and wholeheartedly serve the people, and should never claim any privilege. If we extend bourgeois rights, we will fall into the trap set by Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

While criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's crime of extending bourgeois rights, the Party branch put the emphasis on grappling with problems related to cadre participation in collective productive labor. An old Party branch secretary who was formerly a farmhand said: Teng Hsiao-p'ing said there must be a material foundation for the restriction of bourgeois rights. Cadre participation in collective productive labor is of great significance in restricting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three major differences and combating and preventing revisionism. Isn't this a material foundation? Teng Hsiao-p'ing obviously wanted to drag us cadres into the water. We must never play into his hands. What he said he did. After becoming a deputy secretary of the commune /Party Committee/, he still eats the same kind of food as the poor and lower-middle peasants and wears the same kind of clothes and does the same kind of work--true to the features of the laboring people. Several young cadres of Production Team No. 6 on their own initiative proposed to forego fixed subsidies and earn work points on the same basis as other commune members. Everyone clearly indicated: to restrict or extend bourgeois rights is an important aspect of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside. Following the continuous deepening of the socialist revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production, the struggle on this issue will become more heated and will be reflected first of all in the leading group. All Communist Party members and Party cadres in particular must become proponents in restricting bourgeois rights.

Investigation Team of CCP Honan
Provincial Committee

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Comment on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's Comprador-Bourgeois Economic Thinking

by

Kao Lu (高路)
Ch'ang Ko (常戈)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

A black thread runs through many fallacies of Teng Hsiao-p'ing on economic construction. It is this: Internally, to seize leadership of the national economy from the proletariat on behalf of the bourgeoisie and turn our country's socialist economy into a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist economy; externally, to practice capitulationism and national betrayal in a vain attempt to turn our country into a colony or semi-colony of imperialism and social-imperialism. This is in essence a kind of comprador bourgeois economic thinking.

To restore capitalism, he dished out a reactionary program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and a set of corresponding principles and policies. Behind the back of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, he reimposed the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and enforced "the rules and regulations of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union" with the aim of replacing the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and causing our socialist economy to degenerate into a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist economy.

As early as 1956, Chairman Mao in his report "On Ten Sets of Major Relationships" pointed out: To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthen the socialist economic base and build a powerful socialist country, it is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the central and local authorities. It is necessary to "let the localities do more work under unified central planning," to give play to both the central and local initiatives. However, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing vigorously opposed Chairman Mao's instruction and for a long time refused to implement this correct policy. Instead, they heaped praises on the big trusts in imperialist countries and energetically enforced the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were destroyed. The broad masses and revolutionary cadres rose to rebel against "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" and pushed forward the implementation of this correct policy set by Chairman Mao. Since the beginning of the cultural revolution, the situation in which grain produced in the south has to be shipped to the north and coal produced in the north has to be shipped to the south has begun to change. In South China regions coal, petroleum and natural gas reserves have been continuously discovered, local small iron and steel plants, small chemical fertilizer plants, small cement plants, small machine-building plants and small hydro-electric generating stations have developed flourishingly and increased their output by many times, and some medium and small cities have joined the ranks

of newly emerging industrial cities by relying on full scale development of local industries. All of this proves that Chairman Mao's directive "it is far better to have two initiatives than to have only one initiative" is entirely correct. It has an extremely vital and far-reaching significance for the development of the national economy with greater, faster, better and more economical results. After he resumed work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing relapsed into error and reimposed the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned." Under the pretext of "centralized and unified" leadership, he tried to bring under central control all "key enterprises that serve the whole country and require organized cooperation and coordination on a national scale." According to him, most large enterprises in the country and medium and small enterprises that supply them with components should be brought under central control. The result would surely be to stifle the initiative of the localities and the broad masses and to undermine the cause of socialist construction. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's idea fully demonstrates his obstinate opposition to Chairman Mao's policy of developing the two initiatives, and his determination to overthrow the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, continue to push the revisionist line and take the beaten track of the imperialist trusts.

It was out of his political need to practice revisionism and establish a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that Teng Hsiao-p'ing pushed the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned" in the economic field. "Direct and exclusive control" is the opposite of centralized leadership by the Party. It means that a few persons in the central competent departments concerned should give orders directly to enterprises and impose vertical leadership, with each "vertical line" becoming a system in itself, reaching directly to the bottom, depriving both the Party Central Committee and the local Party committees of economic power and brushing aside the centralized leadership of Party committees at various levels. "Direct and exclusive control" has nothing to do with either the Party Central Committee or the local Party committees. It means dispersion fron the center and the setting up of "multi-centers," autocracy and bourgeois dictatorship imposed on the localities and the masses. Experience in class struggle in the socialist period shows that the practice of "direct and exclusive control" is conducive to the capitalist roaders pushing a revisionist line from above. Last year, in those departments that were more seriously influenced by Teng's practice of "direct and exclusive control," the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was more pronounced, and the capitalist roaders' restorationist activities were more flagrant. This was by no means accidental.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's aim in reimposing "direct and exclusive control" is to "rectify" our socialist economy until it disappears. The practice of "direct and exclusive control" is bound to result in the dividing up of the socialist economy under whole-people ownership into "private sectors," leading to rigid barriers between departments and trades, to division of labor with each profitting at the expense of the other, and turning relations between departments into capitalist relations of competition. The practice of "direct and exclusive control" will cause one to ignore the comprehensive balance among various sectors of the national economy and to stress one-sidedly the needs of one's unit to the detriment of the rational overall planning of the national economy, comprehensive utilization of natural resources and large-scale socialist cooperation and coordination transcending barriers between trades. In short, the practice of "direct and exclusive

control" basically runs counter to the principle of taking class struggle as the key link and putting proletarian politics in command, to the concept of viewing the situation as a whole in socialist construction and the mass viewpoint, undermining the socialist planned economy and the socialist relations of production and hindering the development of the productive forces. Who is to exercise "direct and exclusive control?" It is obvious that in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's mind, control ought to be exercised by Party capitalist roaders and unreformed bourgeois technical experts. He suggested that "the core of rectification is the leading group," and he set his mind on planting capitalist roaders who "are not afraid of being struck down a second time" in various departments. In other words,he wants to usurp the leadership of the entire national economy on behalf of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. It is obvious that to "rectify" the economy under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control" is to bring about capitalist production concentration and monopoly, to implement his revisionist policies such as management of factories by experts, putting profit in command, material incentives, production first and technique above everything else, to negate Chairman Mao's line and policies concerning socialist revolution and construction, to expand and strengthen bourgeois rights, to change the socialist orientation and road of our enterprises, and to turn the socialist economy into a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist economy.

In reviving the practice of "direct and exclusive control" in the management system of the national economy, Teng Hsiao-p'ing pushed those "rules and regulations of the Magsitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union" in enterprises and enforced the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the workers, the two aspects of his effort to establish bureaucrat monopoly capitalism. Chairman Mao pointed out in 1964: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class,all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class." Teng Hsiao-p'ing consistently opposed Chairman Mao's instruction that it is necessary to wholeheartedly rely on the working class, and stubbornly pushed his revisionist line that was hostile to the working class. He openly advocated that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," refused to take the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants as masters, and denied that they had the right to economic management. He cherished inveterate hatred for the revolutionary action in the cultural revolution of the working class criticizing the capitalist and revisionist principles of business management and rules and regulations, and once he went back to work he could hardly wait to carry out his counter-attack in revenge. He not only wanted to reimpose all the past measures for "control, check and suppression" of the masses of workers, but blustered that these measures must be enforced "strictly." This fully revealed that he was the general representative of the bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers, elements who were sharply criticized by Chairman Mao. What line is followed in enterprises and which class holds the power of leadership determine which class actually owns the enterprises. If Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line were followed, the leadership of the enterprises would surely fall into the hands of capitalist roaders and the bourgeoisie inside the Party. They might use their power to appropriate and squander large

amounts of wealth created by the working and ride roughshod over the worker masses. In consequence, socialist enterprises would exist only in name and turn into bureaucrat monopoly capitalist enterprises in fact.

The fallacies peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing are not his own invention, but are acquired from Soviet revisionism as refurbished versions of Khrushchev and Brezhnev's so-called "economic reforms." In order to develop bureaucrat monopoly capitalism, the Soviet revisionists made every effort to push a "new economic system" centering on material incentives and putting profit in command. They put technology above all else and promote management of factories by experts, with the leadership of the national economy under the complete control of the bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie. Their enterprise regulations clearly rule that managers have the right to sell, transfer or lease the means of production in their enterprises, and the right to hire and lay off workers. They can do anything they please with the workers and impose the bourgeois dictatorship on them. Above the enterprises, vertical leadership is exercised through the two-level or three-level system of central competent departments--production complexes, so "direct and exclusive control by the ministry concerned" can be put into force. These industrial complexes are vast in scale and concentrate almost all the managerial functions of enterprises. It is by pushing in this way the "new economic system" that the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has intensified its monopoly and domination of enterprises throughout the country. The reality of Soviet revisionism is a mirror in which we see clearly what misery the masses of laboring people will be thrown into once the socialist economy is turned into a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist economy. Today, the Soviet laboring people are powerless politically and exploited economically; they are deep in trouble. The "9th 5-year plan," which Soviet revisionism bragged about as a "welfare plan," has gone bankrupt. The industrial growth rate has been dropping year after year; agriculture is a mess; the proportions of various sectors of the national economy are seriously upset; and the contradictions between the masses of workers and peasants on the one hand and the handful of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class on the other are becoming more and more acute. All this is causing Soviet social-imperialism's political and economic crises to be aggravated continuously. By trying to follow in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionists, Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the end could only seriously disrupt the socialist relations of production and the superstructure and wreck the socialist economy. How could it be possible for him to push our national economy forward? How could there be any so-called socialist modernization?

Chairman Mao has pointed out: Under China's historical conditions, all who stubbornly cling to the capitalist line "are in fact people who are prepared to capitulate to imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism." Teng Hsiao-p'ing is exactly such a person. He feels that the Chinese people are not good at economic construction and promoting four modernizations and the socialist system, too, won't work, and that, therefore, the only way to "speed up industrial and technological transformation and raise labor productivity" can only be to rely on "imported foreign technology and equipment." For this reason, he put forward a so-called "major policy," calling for the signing of "long-term contracts" with foreign countries, with foreign capitalists supplying the "latest and best equipment" which are to be "paid for" with China's mineral products. This is an out-and-out "major policy" of fawning on foreigners, capitulating to foreign countries and national betrayal.

To rely on the strength of the people of one's country in undertaking economic construction self-reliantly or to depend on foreign countries, admire and fawn upon them--these are two basically antagonistic lines. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line." But Teng Hsiao-p'ing has entirely betrayed this line set forth by Chairman Mao. The "major policy" that he talked about actually runs counter to the policy of resting economic construction on the basis of the Chinese people's strength, and takes "imported foreign technology and equipment" as the main basis. This fully shows that the theme he harped on remains one of "white cat, black cat," "making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." Whether we should insist on independence and self-reliance is not merely an economic question but, first of all, a political question. Monopoly of advanced technology and equipment, use of economic strength to threaten others, to carry out blackmail and extortion, infiltration and expansion--this is an important means that has always been used by imperialism and social-imperialism to control and plunder other countries. In the world today, if a country cannot be independent and self-reliant economically, it cannot be independent politically nor consolidate its political independence, and it may be controlled by either of the two superpowers. Under the guidance of the policy of independence and self-reliance, it may be necessary to import certain technology and equipment from foreign countries to meet China's needs for socialist revolution and construction in accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit. But under no circumstances should we pin our hopes for achieving the four modernizations on this. If, as Teng Hsiao-p'ing has suggested, we simply depend on importing foreign technology, copy foreign designs, apply foreign technology mechanically and produce equipment on foreign models instead of placing the main emphasis on our own efforts, we will always trail behind the foreigners. The result will be that not only shall we be unable to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced level, but we shall place China's technological development and even our entire national economy under the control of foreign monopoly capital. Some monopoly bourgeois economists allege that industrially backward countries can "take off" only by depending on imperialist technology. Isn't it a a great irony that Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who retains the title of communist, goes along with such fallacies? This of course is not a coincidence but shows that his economic views entirely suit imperialist needs.

The Soviet revisionist Pravda once called for the use of Soviet natural resources as security to "absorb foreign capital and experience, so that loans may be paid back with a portion of products produced from construction projects in the future." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "major policy" is no different from these Soviet revisionist measures. Its essence is nothing more than selling out our natural resources and state sovereignty for foreign loans. Teng Hsiao-p'ing shamelessly boasted that his "major policy" has three big "advantages": one, to boost export, two, to spur technological transformation and three, to accommodate labor power. What "advantages" are they?! They are none other than having foreign monopoly capitalists supply the money and equipment and China the manpower, opening the

door for imperialism to plunder our natural resources and suck the blood of the Chinese people. Such "advantages" had been experienced by the Chinese people long before the liberation. If we follow this capitulationist "major policy" of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's, China will only sink step by step into a raw material supply base, a commodity market and an investment ground for imperialism and social-imperialism, and not only will the achievements of the socialist revolution be completely lost but those of the democratic revolution will also come to naught. Don't we see clearly Teng Hsiao-p'ing's ugly features in representing the interests of the foreign big bourgeoisie and filling the role of a comprador of imperialism?

The historical experience of the past century tells us that it is nothing but an illusion to attempt to rely on technology and loans supplied by imperialism to develop the economy and make China rich and strong. The group of people who learned from the West toward the end of the Ch'ing dynasty advocated that "loans may be borrowed to develop what is beneficial" for the country. They believed that only by borrowing large loans from imperialist countries by mortgaging our natural resources and developing industry by "imitating" foreign technology was it possible to enable China to "strengthen itself" and "begin to stand on its own feet." But the facts were the opposite. What they did entirely suited the needs of imperialism in dumping their goods in and exporting their capital to China and partitioning it. The Westernizing movement was no way to enable China to "strengthen itself"; on the contrary, it caused China and its people to become more and more impoverished. Instead of "beginning to stand on its own feet," China saw its national crisis deepened with each passing day.

In the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, some people once were obsessed with "national salvation through industry." They regarded industrial under-development as the root-cause of China's backwardness and poverty, thinking that only large-scale development of industry and commerce could make China rich and strong. They had no courage to oppose imperialism and feudalism in a thorough-going manner and dreamed of developing capitalist industry without overthrowing imperialist rule. But under the double oppression of imperialism and its lackeys, there were only two fates awaiting those who called for "national salvation through industry": either they failed, their illusions completely shattered; or they fell into the arms of imperialism and ended up being members of comprador bourgeoisie. As a youth, Teng Hsiao-p'ing had the idea of "national salvation through industry." For several decades his bourgeois stand and world outlook basically remained unchanged. Following the continued deepening of revolution, his bourgeois reactionary nature became more and more apparent. From opposing the socialist revolution and practicing restoration and regression to inheriting the mantle of the comprador bourgeoisie and national betrayal, Teng Hsiao-p'ing will surely end up no better than the slavish compradors of history.

"Only socialism can save China." This is a historical conclusion the Chinese people have drawn from their protracted revolutionary struggle. The independence and wealth of China and the freedom and happiness of her people can only be rhetorical without Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist road. Revolution is changing and can change everything. As long as we persist in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, in taking class struggle as the key link, in maintaining independence and self-reliance, and in relying on the

enthusiasm and creativity of the vast masses of the people, we will certainly build our country into a strong socialist power with modern agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology before the end of this century, while continuing to march forward toward the great goal of communism.

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A Set of Regulations for Restoration and Regression

- A critique of "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry"

by

Workers Theoretical Study Group of Shanghai
Clock and Watch Components Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

No sooner had Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, regained a part of power than he blatantly smeared the excellent situation since the great cultural revolution, attacked and opposed a series of Chairman Mao's instructions on developing socialist industry in a vain attempt to shake the socialist economic base to its foundation and realize his criminal aim of restoring capitalism in an all-around way. His intensive planning and the regulations entitled "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" concocted on his order bared his unbridled ambition.

This set of revisionist regulations is a rather complete record of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist speeches and statements on industry, a "general charter" for "rectifying industry" which he advocated time and again. This set of regulations has been dissected and criticized point by point by the workers of our plant in light of the actual conditions of class and line struggle on the industrial front. Revolutionary mass criticism has enabled the masses of workers and cadres to deepen their understanding of the reactionary nature and danger of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and further heighten their consciousness of running the enterprise in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

I.

What should be taken as the key link in running socialist industry is a question of principle. Chairman Mao's series of instructions on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat clearly tells us that it is imperative to take class struggle as the key link, firmly grasp the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the principal contradiction, constantly criticize revisionism, persistently exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and keep to the socialist road. Any slightest vacillation on this question will make our economic work go astray.

However, the set of revisionist regulations concocted on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's order put forward the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," describing it as the "general program for all work of the whole Party, the whole army and the whole nation," and saying that

/the three directives/ "are closely related to one another and form an integral whole." Class struggle during the socialist period is written off at one stroke, and all tasks are geared to production. This is a total betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and an overt tampering with the Party's basic line.

The existence of class struggle is an objective fact, and the industrial front is no exception. Take our plant as example. Since our plant was converted from a fountain-pen plant into a clock and watch components plant in 1960, the storm of class struggle has never abated for a single moment. Facts prove that only by firmly grasping class struggle and persistently criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism can we continue to advance. After criticizing revisionism and putting the line right, products which were not produced before may be trial-produced, equipment may be made, and people can be trained. If we neither criticize revisionism nor follow the correct line, we will fumble and stumble even if we have more funds, equipment and skilled personnel. For example, drilling eyes on stone was an old technology. When our plant began to produce eyes, a worker could produce only two thousand per day, and 10 percent of the plant's labor power was devoted to this work alone. As early as 1963 the workers had proposed to replace the old technology with the new technology of drilling eyes by laser. However, under the influence of the revisionist line, at first certain leaders, who admired and worshipped foreigners, favored copying from foreign technology and refused to accept the suggestion of the masses. Later, when work was started grudgingly, only a small number of experts were relied upon in making the experiment behind closed doors. As a result, after twists and turns and many years of backing and filling, the problem remained unsolved. When the campaign to criticize revisionism and rectify the style of work was set off in 1971, the masses harshly criticized the slavish comprador philosophy, the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace and such revisionist ideas as management of factory by experts, and organized a three-in-one combination group with workers as the mainstay. It was only then that the new technology was successfully applied. Replacing the old technology with drilling by laser reduced the number of workers engaged in the production by five-sixths and floor space by two-thirds. While working conditions were improved, output rose sharply. Breaking the bondage of the revisionist line enabled the technology of drilling eyes in our plant to reach the world's advanced level. What is true for the application of a new technology is also true for other work. It is next to impossible to develop socialist industry while giving up class struggle and the criticism of revisionism.

The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road, and revisionism is the main danger. This is a fact of class struggle of which we must remind ourselves all the time. Chairman Mao points out: "Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?" When Teng Hsiao-p'ing spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle, he also did not really want to abandon class struggle. What he wanted was to make us lay down our arms, stop criticizing the revisionist line and bring socialist industry into the revisionist orbit. Behind the smokescreen of grasping production, this set of regulations he concocted opposed strengthening Party

leadership and advocated the enforcement of the one-chief system; opposed putting politics in command and advocated putting profit in command and material incentives; opposed relying on the working masses and trumpeted relying on experts; opposed the activation of both the central and local initiatives and advocated the practice of "direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministry concerned"; opposed maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts and trumpeted worshipping things foreign, the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and so on and so forth. By so doing, he launched a frenzied offensive against the proletariat. Did this mean class struggle was dying out?

The historical mission of the proletariat is to abolish exploitation and all classes and to achieve communism. We must double our vigilance against the danger of capitalist restoration and keep in mind the painful lesson of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, in which "the satellite goes up to the sky, the red flag falls to the ground." We must firmly grasp class struggle as the key link, persist in the Party's basic line, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end!

II.

In order to push the revisionist line, practice regression and restoration, and launch a counter-attack in revenge, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in having this set of regulations concocted, also dished up a revisionist organizational line.

The "Decision of the CCP Central Committee On the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" drawn up under the personal guidance of Chairman Mao highly praised "a large group of unknown revolutionary youngsters who become brave pacesetters." In the course of the fiery struggle in the great cultural revolution, they have grown up sturdily. On the recommendation of the masses, some of them have joined three-in-one leading groups at various levels. Such a happy event, however, was bitterly resented and mortally feared by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who clamored everywhere that /they have been/ "promoted too fast" and "must be promoted step by step." He wanted to strike them down at once. This set of regulations expresses his opposition to the great proletarian cultural revolution. He openly favored rectifying them as "petty intellectuals" and "brave elements." Without criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism, without rectifying the capitalist roaders within the Party but directing the spearhead at so-called "petty intellectuals" and "brave elements," what else did he do if he didn't protect the bourgeoisie and strike at the proletariat?

The leadership of factories and enterprises must be firmly held by Marxists and the worker masses. Only then will it be possible to persist in placing proletarian politics in command, implement the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right down to the grass roots. However, this set of regulations concocted by Teng Hsiao-p'ing made no reference to the five criteria laid down by Chairman Mao for training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat nor to the "three dos and three don'ts"

principle. Instead, it put the leading group upside down and turned it into one "capable of fighting tough battles." Despite its rhetorics, if we only look at whom it loves and whom it hates and what kind of cadres it wants to be fostered, we will see the true picture clearly. Such phrases as "restoration of the old," "regression," "conservative forces" and "pulling the cart without looking at the road" are taboo. Don't you want to mention these phrases? Then you are "brave elements" "doing great harm" and must be "rectified." Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing babble everywhere that he needed those who "dare to lead and assume responsibility" and "are not afraid of being struck down for a second time?" To put it bluntly, he needed the unrepentant capitalist roaders who were criticized during the great cultural revolution and resented such criticism, a handful of bureaucrats who sharply opposed the working class, a tiny band of bad elements who dared to create rumors and trouble, write letters of false accusation, and perpetrate counter-revolutionary political incidents such as that which occurred at Tienanmen Square. Such people are most afraid of the masses and of talking about struggle against the bourgeoisie within the Party. What "dare to lead and assume responsibility"! This is merely another way of saying that they dare to promote revisionism and resist Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

III.

In this set of revisionist regulations, there is also a section which exclusively deals with the question of whom to reply on. It is given the high-sounding heading: "rely on the working class." However, upon a check of its content, a different story emerges.

A socialist enterprise must wholeheartedly rely upon the working class. The workers must be the masters of their own enterprises. They must care for the orientation and the line and exercise revolutionary supervision over cadres at various levels. And the cadres must go deep among the masses, listen to their opinions, work, study and live with them. They should regard the workers as teachers and maintain close ties with them. Many enterprises have accumulated numerous fresh experiences in relying on the masses, and many new things have emerged since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution. However, this set of regulations does not mention any of these experiences or new things. It repeatedly calls for making "concrete" analysis of rebellion and going against the tide as if once these questions were solved the question of relying on the working class would also be completely solved. What a wonderful argument.

Actually, it is not. A bad mold cannot produce a fine product. How can the capitalist roaders tell us the ways of relying on the working class? Chairman Mao's statement with regard to the class content of the move against the tide and revolutionary rebellion has been quite explicit. It of course refers to going against the tide of revisionism and rebellion against the bourgeoisie. To go against the tide of historical progress is known as regression and to rebel against the proletariat as restoration. Isn't this known to all? It is with an exe to grind that this set of revisionist regulations dished up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing made such a fuss in the name of "relying on the working class." Its true purpose is to totally negate the great cultural revolution, stifle the revolutionary spirit of rebellion and

going against the tide of the working class, and let the capitalist roaders restore capitalism to their heart's content.

To run an enterprises well by relying on the working class, we must adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and constantly develop the thorough revolutionary spirit of the masses in the three great revolutionary movements. Without giving full play to the revolutionary spirit of rebellion and going against the tide of the proletariat, it will be impossible to crush the various adverse currents of bourgeois rebellion against the proletariat, nor will it be possible to develop the socialist cause with greater, faster, better and more economic results and truly keep to the socialist orientation and road. Before the great cultural revolution, the leadership power of six of the nine sections and one room of our plant was controlled by capitalists and bourgeois "authorities," thanks to the influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line.
Amost every capitalist became an "authority."
There were "authorities on wiring," "authorities on equipment," "authorities on glass boring," and even "authorities" on general services and supplies. Some leaders of the plant followed that line of Liu Shao-ch'i, promoting what they called "civilized production" and "scientific management." The workers had no power at all. It was precisely because Chairman Mao led us workers to develop the revolutionary spirit of rebellion and go through the great cultural revolution that we put the leadership power back in the hands of the worker masses and further established the position of the workers as masters. During the past few years, it is also because our plant has continually developed in the masses the proletarian revolutionary spirit of rebellion that it has resisted the influence of the revisionist line and made constant progress along the correct orientation. Practice in struggle has shown us that in a socialist enterprise, we must always support the masses in their struggle against erroneous tendencies and further develop their spirit of being masters of the country before we can enable an enterprise to progress steadily along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Stifling the revolutionary spirit of the masses and their spirit of going against the tide will make any talk about relying on the working class academic.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing says "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." This is a big exposure of his bourgeois instinct. His view is in fact quite clear: those who follow the capitalist roaders are to be "relied upon"; those who refuse to go along will be repressed. That is all there is to it. As an old worker puts it aptly, we had heard such voice long before. Capitalists before the liberation too said "rely on the worker brothers"--in the sense that you served them as beasts of burden. Today, while saying "rely on the working class," Teng Hsiao-p'ing actually wanted to impose the bourgeois dictatorship. In fact, he wanted us to submit to them meekly and let him restore capitalism. There is not the slightest difference between his tune and that of capitalists.

IV.

After resuming work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has been most vociferous about "rectification." After all, what does he want to make enterprise management look like?

Chairman Mao has stated: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education." Enterprise management has always been concerned with the question of which class holds the management power and how to handle the relations among people. In class society, there has never been supra-class enterprise management. When we talk about management, we mean the fundamental nature of management. The "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and the principle of learning from Tach'ing in industry put forward by Chairman Mao and his important instructions on the socialist education movement have pointed out the fundamental orientation for proletarian industrial management. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again clearly pointed out the concrete aspects of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and enterprises. Over the past ten years, we have followed Chairman Mao's instructions, criticized the revisionist line and adhered to the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." As a result, great changes have taken place in the relations among people. The workers' position as masters of the factories has been strengthened. Before the great cultural revolution, our plant had a saying that "the threshold of the plant manager is 3 feet 3 inches high; the workers have no right to cross it." A state of opposition existed between workers and leaders. Now, all the cadres of our plant spend more than 100 days each year taking part in collective productive labor. The relations between cadres and worker masses have basically improved. Before the cultural revolution, the workers of our plant with a work force of about a thousand had to apply to seven offices and complete 23 procedures in undertaking a technical innovation. In the course of the cultural revolution, irrational rules and regulations hamstringing the socialist initiative of the masses were eliminated, and a variety of forms of workers' participation in management were created. These changes in enterprise management pleased the workers. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this unrepentant capitalist roader, acting as a comprador, paid no attention at all to the demands, aspirations and creations of the masses. He described the changes in enterprise management as "quite a mess," saying such things as "disrupting" and "a longstanding habit is difficult to correct." He repeatedly called for "rectification." It is quite obvious that the purpose of his shouting himself hoarse was to restore the revisionist rules of management--to eliminate Party leadership, set up a separate system and a separate center, put the Party committee aside, and reinstate the "one-chief system" advocated by Liu Shao-ch'i before the cultural revolution. The workers said rightly: People like Teng Hsiao-p'ing always "dislike and want to get rid of all" socialist new things. We must strongly rebuff his criminal design and must never allow his plot to succeed! At the moment the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is developing in depth. We must fully display the role as the main force, seriously study a series of important directives laid down by Chairman Mao, and concentrate on a thorough criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and his reactionary crimes. We must grasp the revolution, promote production, and strive for greater victories!

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Despicable Tricks, Sinister Motives

- On a talk by Teng Hsiao-p'ing on criticism of Water Margin

by

T'ien Chih-sung (田志松)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

The three months of July, August and September last year were unusual months during which the arch unrepentant capitalist-roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, after intense preparations, stage-managed a Right deviationist verdict-reversing farce of capitulating to the bourgeoisie. After resuming work, he began to unleash rabid attacks on Chairman Mao's revoutionary line, oppose the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship and oppose taking class struggle as the key link. By the time he dished out "taking the three directives as the key link," his frenzied attacks had reached the peak, fully revealing his reactionary features of practicing revisionism and capitulationism. With foresight and penetrating insight, the great leader Chairman Mao promptly issued an important instruction concerning the criticism of Water Margin. He said, "The merit of the book Water Margin lies in portraying capitulation. As teaching material by negative example, it makes capitulationists known to all people." This instruction of Chairman Mao's brings out Water Margin's reactionary substance of preaching capitulationism, clearly defines the political orientation and purpose of comment on the novel, and calls upon the people of the whole country to struggle against capitulationists. This struck a crushing blow at the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party who were engaged in launching frenzied attacks. Teng Hsiao-p'ing was terrified and became restless. Chairman Mao's instruction on Water Margin was published on September 4. The next day Teng Hsiao-p'ing sprang out and gave a statement. He made no mention of Chairman Mao's published instruction. Instead, he uttered a lot of nonsense, emasculating the revolutionary substance of Chairman Mao's instruction and obliterating the immediate significance of criticizing Water Margin, vainly trying to lead the criticism down the wrong path of "purely academic" discussion and thus to resist and undermine the major political struggle against revisionism and capitulationism. Once this talk was relased, the bourgeoisie inside the Party treasured and promptly used it to counter and supersede Chairman Mao's instructions. The substitution trick that Teng played in this talk was in fact a trick played in the "February Outline" of old.

In November 1965, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office, with the spearhead aimed directly at Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters. Liu and company were thrown into confusion. They hurriedly dished out a "February Outline" to cover up the serius political character of this struggle, without mentioning a word about Chairman Mao's repeated references to the essence of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office as being the dismissal of the official. They vainly tried to lead

the struggle down the wrong path of "purely academic" discussion in order to protect Wu Han and a large number of anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois representatives, including themselves. Marx pointed out: "Quite often there are striking similarities in history." ("On the Question of Poland," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 291) Let us now see how Teng Hsiao-p'ing resorted to the old trick of the "February Outline" in twisting Chairman Mao's instructions and undermining the mass movement to criticize Water Margin.

The crux of the matter related to Water Margin is capitulation. The purpose of unfolding criticism of Water Margin and exposing the true features of Sung Chiang, the ancient capitulationist, in line with Chairman Mao's instruction is to enhance the ability of the broad masses to recognize capitulationists so they can struggle against the modern capitulationists more effectively. Whether or not we recognize the immediate significance of Chairman Mao's instruction -- "to make capitulationists known to all people" -- and whether or not we recognize that there are modern capitulationists is the key to affirming or negating the immediate significance of commenting on Water Margin. In his talk Teng Hsiao-p'ing categorically denied the existence in our country at present of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between Marxism and revisionism. Thus, he denied there were modern capitulationists, opposed making comments on Water Margin in relation to the realities of the present struggle between the two classes and two lines, and opposed unfolding criticism of revisionism and capitulationism. This was no different from the "February Outline," which left out the essence of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office and evaded the question of political and line struggle, an attempt to cover up and negate the immense immediate significance of criticizing Water Margin. Teng Hsiao-p'ing played other tricks, too, around the word "but." First he said that "unfolding criticism of Water Margin has an immediate significance," and then he changed his tone and said, "but" this significance "has to be viewed from the entire historical stage of socialism." In other words, he was referring to a prolonged period in the future, not the present. Commenting on Water Margin of course has a far-reaching historical significance, but should this be used to obliterate its immediate significance? This illogical sophistry characterizes the approach habitually used by revisionists. If Teng Hsiao-p'ing faltered in discussing issues in public, he would hardly conceal his reactionary purpose in private talks. With sinister motives, he alleged that Chairman Mao's instruction "by no means refers to the reality of the current struggle within the Party." He urged others to write articles to refute the idea that there are Sung Chiangs and modern capitulationists in the Party. Furthermore, he viciously accused us of "plotting" to link the reality of the current struggle with commenting on Water Margin, spreading most despicable political rumors directed at the great leader Chairman Mao. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's deliberate, abusive remarks have only revealed his fear of commenting on Water Margin and admitting there are modern capitulationists. This is because having practiced revisionism and capitulationism he was afraid that he might be unmasked!

Teng Hsiao-p'ing wrote off the immediate significance of commenting on Water Margin and vehemently denied the existence of modern capitulationists. This, as Lenin said in criticism of Kautsky, "is absolutely preposterous

in theory, a kind of sophistry in practice, the use of deceitful means to defend the vilest opportunism." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 795) Marxism holds that capitulationists are the product of class struggle and the policies of reactionary classes. As long as there are classes and class struggle and the struggle between the two roads and two lines, the appearance of capitulationists is inevitable, not only in ancient times but also at present and in the future. Those who practice revisionism are capitulationists. Chairman Mao's instruction on the criticism of Water Margin reveals the true features of the ancient capitulationist Sung Chiang and the entire course of his pushing the capitulationist line, and penetratingly brings out, in terms of class relations and the line, the laws governing capitulationists and their activities. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "Water Margin is against corrupt officials only, but not the emperor. It excludes Ch'ao Kai from the 108 persons. Sung Chiang capitulates and practices revisionism, changing Ch'ao's Chü-i T'ing into Chung-i T'ang and accepting offers of amnesty and enlistment. Sung Chiang's struggle against Kao Ch'iu is the struggle between one faction and another within the landlord class. After Sung Chiang surrenders he sets out to fight Fang La." Chairman Mao's instruction enables us to recognize clearly that although the revisionist and capitulationist lines pushed by the ancient and modern capitulationists have their peculiar historical and class content, their common traits are usurpation of the leadership of the revolution, alteration of the correct line, seeking restoration and regression and serving the reactionary classes. Haven't these traits clearly manifested themselves in the person of Teng Hsiao-p'ing? After resuming work, he fabricated all sorts of counter-revolutionary political rumors, borrowed the treacherous strategy of Liu Pi, Prince of Wu in the Han times, of "purifying the emperor's ranks" and aimed the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao. Attacking the central leading comrades who implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he vainly attempted to split the Party Central Committee and usurp the leadership power of the Party and the state. He dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," opposed taking class struggle as the key link and vainly tried to alter the Party's basic line. He advocated the "ladder-rung theory" to oppose the revolutionary principle of combining the old, the middle-aged and the young, hitting at and excluding revolutionary cadres so he could recruit and employ unrepentant capitalist roaders, rig up a counter-revolutionary "home-returning contingent," and vainly try to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Flaunting the ensign of "all-round readjustment," he vindictively counter-attacked the proletariat and the revolutionary people, in a futile attempt to wipe out the fruits of the great proletarian cultural revolution and restore capitalism in an all-round way. What Teng Hsiao-p'ing has done amply shows that he has "completely thrown himself to the side of the bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat." ("'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 188) He is thus a dyed-in-the-wool modern Sung Chiang and modern capitulationist. In categorically denying the existence of modern capitulationists, wasn't he acting as if "there are no 300 taels of silver here"?* Lenin said rightly: "Negating revisionism

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* A fable in which a man buries 300 taels of silver and puts up a sign "there are no 300 taels of silver here." - SPRCM Ed.

is to cover up one's own revisionism." ("Haste Makes Mistakes," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XX, p. 324) As a revisionist of this category, Teng Hsiao-p'ing emasculated the revolutionary content of Chairman Mao's instruction on Water Margin for the precise purpose of covering up his true features of reversing verdicts and settling old scores.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing said, "Unfolding criticism of Water Margin is also part of the study of theory." As is known to all, Teng is opposed to studying the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and he is altogether against the restriction of bourgeois rights. He regarded the "study of theory" not as the study of Marxist theory, but as a means of detaching the criticism of Water Margin from the actual class struggle. He first downgraded it by calling it "part of" and then used "taking the three directives as the key link" to finish off criticism of Water Margin at one stroke. Once this idea prevailed, there was no longer any mention of "making capitulationists known to all people" in some localities. How vicious Teng Hsiao-p'ing's intentions were! In his talk he also attached first priority to "clarification" of previous assessments of Water Margin, in reality vainly trying to substitute it for the exposure and criticism of modern capitulationists and thus to reverse the general orientation of struggle. If Teng's thesis were followed, the realities of the present struggle between the two classes and two lines were ignored and comments on Water Margin were confined to the clarification of previous appraisals of the novel, then things would inevitably lapse into "purely academic" discussion preferred by the bourgeoisie. Marxism tells us that all class struggles are political struggles. In the world today there is no such thing as "purely academic" discussion that is detached from politics, and all academic questions are subordinate to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. Prior to the great cultural revolution, the bourgeoisie spread a lot of fallacies to embellish and eulogize the capitulationist line affirmed in Water Margin and to extol Sung Chiang the capitulationist, thereby covering up the reactionary essence of the novel in preaching capitulationism. These so-called comments or academic studies were not intended for "nostalgic" purposes but for the sake of "using yesterday's despicable behavior to defend today's despicable acts" (Marx, "Introduction to 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right'," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 3) and in the service of capitalist restoration. While we should of course clarify the bourgeois and revisionist viewpoints previously expounded in the criticism of Water Margin, these clarifications merely serve the purpose of restoring the novel's true features of preaching capitulationism, so people will recognize capitulationists and serve combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is essentially different from Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to circumvent the current political struggle and two-line struggle on the pretext of clarifying previous comments on Water Margin and to shift such comments onto the bourgeois track of "purely academic" discussion.

What Teng Hsiao-p'ing is up to is in fact nothing new. The strategy of "emasculating the substance of revolutionary theory, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it" ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 174) has been habitually employed by all revisionists

and opportunists opposed to Marxism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing indeed went to great lengths in following the old trick of the "February Outline" to undermine the mass movement to make comments on Water Margin. However, he could neither stem the revolutionary storm of beating back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts nor succeed in saving himself from doom. In the face of Communists and revolutionary masses tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, none of the tricks played by the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing could cover up their true features as capitulationists. In the end they could not but be swept into the garbage can of history by the masses of people.

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Why Must Capitalist Roaders Want To Extend Bourgeois Rights?

by

Ching Nung (景农)

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In the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This wise directive of Chairman Mao's is a major development of the Marxist thesis on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, for it profoundly elucidates the connection between the capitalist roaders holding power within the Party and bourgeois rights and reveals Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary class instinct in opposing the criticism and restriction of bourgeois rights.

Since the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country, the struggle between the effort to restrict bourgeois rights and the attempt to thwart it has all along been very acute and violent. The rectification campaign and the anti-Rightist struggle launched in 1957 under Chairman Mao's leadership brought about the spectacular great leap forward and the people's commune movement. The communist spirit was flourishing throughout the country, and heavy blows were dealt to bourgeois rights. The deepening of the revolution inevitably aroused the all-out resistance from the bourgeoisie. P'eng Te-huai, the representative of the bourgeoisie within the Party, sprang out in 1959 to mount a general attack on the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, defaming the restriction of bourgeois rights as "a movement of petty-bourgeois fanaticism." During the period of temporary difficulties besetting our national economy, Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing peddled san-tzu i-pao, "putting profit in command," "material incentives" and other sinister stuff. Pushing the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, they strengthened and extended bourgeois rights in a bid to restore those bourgeois rights which had been abolished in respect to ownership and reinstate private ownership of the landlord and bourgeois classes. Thanks to the socialist education movement in the urban and rural areas and particularly to the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist line was criticized, the socialist consciousness on the part of cadres and the masses was enhanced, and a large number of socialist new things which helped narrow the three major differences and restrict bourgeois rights appeared. In his vain attempt to stem the tide of the revolution, Lin Piao jumped out to attack the socialist new things, alleging that for cadres to be sent down to perform labor was "unemployment in disguise" and for educated youths to go to mountainous and rural areas was "labor reform in disguise." The tune he sang was completely identical with that sung by imperialists, revisionists

and reactionaries. On the present occasion, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's performance is no less frenzied and barefaced. After returning to work, he inherited the mantle of P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in malignantly attacking the socialist new things, slanderously charging that restriction of bourgeois rights lacked a material foundation, even rudely prohibiting any mention of criticism of bourgeois rights, and doing his best to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights.

Why must capitalist roaders want to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights?

After the basic completion of the socialist transformation in the field of ownership, bourgeois rights constituted a legal position which the capitalist roaders might use to restore capitalism.

Bourgeois rights are traces left over from the old society, and their existence is unavoidable in the socialist phase. We can only restrict them under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for they cannot as yet be abolished quickly. As Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society; there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." Due to the legal existence of bourgeois rights, capitalist roaders may, under cover of this legal cloak, make use of distribution according to work, the commodity system, exchange through money and other things which do not differ much from the old society to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights in various names, and practice capitalist restoration in the name of socialism. For example, distribution according to work is a socialist principle, but insofar as what is equal right covers up factual inequality, bourgeois rights still occupy the ruling position. According to these rights, laborers are divided into different grades. In these circumstances the capitalist roaders may, in the guise of "distribution according to work," expand the differences in grades and peddle such revisionist stuff as "material incentives," "bonuses in command" and "work points in command." Hasn't the Soviet revisionist renegade clique turned the socialist principle of distribution into a capitalist principle of distribution without taking off the signboard of "distribution according to work"? In the views of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, bourgeois rights are so good that they must never be criticized and restricted. For one thing, they are high officials practicing revisionism and want to protect the interests of high officials; for another, in their desire to restore capitalism, they must also cling to the position of bourgeois rights. The proletariat has no alternative but to restrict bourgeois rights if it wants to completely abolish all classes, bury all systems of exploitation, and create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise. For this reason, the struggle between restriction of bourgeois rights and counter-restriction in the historical stage of socialism must necessarily be protracted and sharp.

By strengthening and extending bourgeois rights, the capitalist roaders vainly try to muster the forces of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and foster their social basis for pushing the revisionist line.

Chairman Mao says: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system." Bourgeois rights provide the soil and conditions engendering class differentiation and new bourgeois elements. By using that part of power they have usurped to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights, the capitalist roaders are able not only to protect the strength of the old bourgeoisie but also to nurture new bourgeois elements. On this point, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were linked by the same thought. They advocated "technology first," "management of factories by experts," "management of schools by professors," "'white and expert' is good to the Chinese People's Republic," etc. They opposed the effort of workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants to stand on their feet in culture and science, vainly attempted to safeguard or restore the rule of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals and protect the power of these people to exploit and oppress the worker and peasant masses. Advocating san-tzu i-pao and "putting profit in command," they wanted to alter the nature of the ownership by the whole people and the collective ownership, to let capitalism spread unchecked, and to create the conditions for the generation of new bourgeois elements. By promoting "material incentives" and "putting bonuses in command," they wanted to corrupt the worker masses and cause the degeneration of a number of workers and Party members. They opposed the reform of state organs, the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, and sending cadres down to perform labor. They did their best to expand the differences in grades for the purpose of encouraging the growth of the bourgeois lifestyle within the cadre ranks and cause some cadres to turn into bourgeois lords sucking the blood of the worker and peasant masses. They opposed the revolution in education and the revolution in literature and art, prohibited the criticism of "private ownership of knowledge" and "intellectual education first." They called for "going to school in order to become an official" and opposed sending educated youths to the mountainous and rural areas; in doing so, they wanted to wrest young people from the proletariat and foster bourgeois successors among them. In this way, with the capitalist roaders as the core and through the protection and extension of bourgeois rights, it may be possible to unite the forces of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, to make them work in concert and stir up wind and waves, to form a restorationist contingent and a revisionist social basis for countering the socialist revolution and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square shows most clearly that the commanders of the bourgeoisie are in the Party, that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the general representative of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, and that the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" concocted by him represents the interests of the entire bourgeoisie. Our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing agonizes those members of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party who live by depending on Teng Hsiao-p'ing in extending bourgeois rights. Like mad dogs jumping over the wall, they finally perpetrated the counter-revolutionary disturbances at Tienanmen Square in a vain attempt to present Teng Hsiao-p'ing as China's Nagy. But the result was that they lifted a rock only to drop it on their own feet and their counter-revolutionary conspiracy went completely bankrupt.

The aim of the capitalist roaders in strengthening and extending bourgeois rights is to restore capitalism in our country, to turn the socialist economy into capitalist economy and to reduce workers and poor and lower-middle peasants again to wage slaves.

Chairman Mao points out, "The rise of revisionism to power means the rise of the bourgeoisie to power." Strengthening by the capitalist roaders of bourgeois rights will inevitably result in the disintegration of the socialist ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, in the degeneration of the socialist economy and in the comeback of capitalism. Where capitalist roaders gain the upper hand, the socialist ownership of the means of production will exist only in name while in fact it turns into capitalist ownership. That is why since Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, rose to power, he has tried by all possible means to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights. If his plot were allowed to succeed, the tragedy of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union would be repeated in China. Shouldn't we be highly vigilant against this?

Restriction of bourgeois rights is a major task of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has collapsed, but the restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party have not stopped. Our experience proves that every step in the restriction of bourgeois rights has to be taken in struggle against resistance by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. As long as the bourgeoisie remains and bourgeois rights still exist, the revolutionary people will never cease fighting. We must firmly take class struggle as the key link, exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, ardently support the socialist new things which restrict bourgeois rights from various aspects, and gradually reduce the three major differences. Only in this way can we create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise and, after a fairly long historical period, finally eliminate all classes and realize the great ideals of communism.

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Strengthen the Building of Worker-Theorist Contingents in the Struggle to Criticize Teng

by

Shih Lun (施伦)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Marxism has developed in the course of struggle against revisionism. For this reason, contingents of Marxist theorists must temper and develop themselves and expand their positions in the storms of struggle. Worker-theorist contingents which came into existence in the great proletarian cultural revolution have grown in strength through stormy struggle. They have played a tremendous role in the struggle to criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. The great significance of building strong worker-theorist contingents in strengthening the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is increasingly manifested. We must lose no time in further developing and strengthening our worker-theorist contingents in the struggle to penetratingly criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts.

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the worker-theorist contingents in Shanghai have developed rapidly, and now have more than 300,000 members. Complying with Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive", with industry as the main occupation and learning other things, they have played an active part in the struggle to criticize the bourgeoisie. Apart from a number of backbone worker-theorists who are now working in various departments of the superstructure, most remain on the shop floor and persevere in giving lectures, doing research and writing articles after work. They have really taken "the lead in study, criticism and work." They are praised by the masses as "vanguards in class struggle and pathbreakers in the struggle for production." A salient feature of these new theorist contingents which have grown in the course of studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is that they are particularly capable of fighting revisionism. Judging from the practice of struggle against the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts, where a good job has been done in building a worker-theorist contingent, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist fallacies cannot prevail, there is no market for political rumors, and counter-revolutionary public opinion is smashed in good time by revolutionary public opinion. The revolution advances irresistibly, production soars.

As in the development of Marxism "every step forward has been taken through struggle," ("Marxism and Revisionism", Selected Worker of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 1) so the growth of worker-theorist contingents is not all smooth sailing. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our worker-theorist contingents criticize revisionism, the bourgeoisie, capitalist roaders and bourgeois rights in a heroic struggle to gradually eliminate the social and economic base for capitalist restoration. This is of course a telling blow to the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and to their representatives. Therefore, once he took up work again, Teng Hsiao-p'ing,

the general backstage boss of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, lashed out at the worker-theorist contingents. In "Certain Questions on Accelerating the Development of Industry" concocted on his order, cultural propaganda teams and writing groups in factories were defamed as "chores in various names" and their "abolition" was ordered. The existence of worker-theorist contingents was literally something illegal. Is it a superfluous "chore" to build theoretical study and writing groups in factories? No. The building of worker-theorist contingents is not something dispensable but a major task to be carried out well in order to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and to launch an offensive against the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere. Teng Hsiao-p'ing can't "abolish them all."
The worker-theorist contingents which have grown and matured in the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius can neither be intimidated nor suppressed. Facts of the acute and complicated class and line struggle enable us to understand that Teng Hsiao-p'ing hates the worker-theorist contingents to the marrow of his bones precisely because they are militant groups criticizing the bourgeoisie, propaganda teams publicizing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bid to stir up the Right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts and completely disband the worker-theorist contingents has only further strengthened the determination of worker-theorists to fight his counter-revolutionary revisionist line and win the battle waged by the proletariat to defeat the bourgeoisie in the sphere of the superstructure.

The fundamental task of the worker-theorist contingents is to practice Marxism and criticize revisionism. For this reason, in strengthening the building of worker-theorist contingents, the first important thing is to organize the worker-theorist fighters to conscientiously study Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and to strive to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to observe and analyze the various problems that arise in the course of class and line struggle. As the dictatorship of the proletariat is becoming more and more consolidated, the capitalist roaders in authority in the Party invariably have to resort to the tactic of holding the red flag to oppose the red flag when dishing up their revisionist theories and slogans. They wear a false cloak of Marxism-Leninism, flaunt all kinds of banners, and at the same time create political rumors on a large scale. This is what has been done by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. Waving the ensign of implementation of the Party's principles and policies and "taking the three directives as the key link," he tampered with and opposed Chairman Mao's teaching on grasping class struggle as the key link and opposed the Party's basic line. He fabricated and spread a lot of counter-revolutionary political rumors to confuse the public. How can we discern the reactionary theories, ideas and slogans that appear under the cloak of Marxism? How can we detect rumors and hearsay in society? The most fundamental way to do so is to rely on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought--the political telescope and microscope. For instance, around last summer rumors rose everywhere in society, with so-called "speeches," "outlines" and "reports" being passed around. The wind had come, and what did we do? The comrades of the worker-theorist group of Workshop No. 2 of Shanghai Steel Mill No. 5 identified the "wind" by seriously studying the Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works. A copy of material said that "taking the three directives as the key link" was "a new way of formulation." So they reviewed a series of statements made by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on class and line struggle. They raised a few questions about the "new way of formulation." When someone asked

them why they questioned this, they answered by showing how Lenin exposed the trick of Kautsky who produced a revisionist theory with Marxist phrases. Having unified their views, they refused to mention "taking the three directives as the key link." This showed that only by arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought could a worker-theorist contingent have a sharp discerning ability and play a militant role. Lenin said: "It is impossible for the workers to build a Party of their own if they do not wage ruthless struggle against all lies involving it. To expose lies, it is necessary to find out all true facts, varify them, and carefully ponder the meaning of those things that have been verified." ("A Talk on Summing up and Facts," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XIX, p. 46) "Verification" and "pondering" as referred to by Lenin meant that we must use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to conduct a class analysis of the lies of sham Marxism and to carry out analytical and persuasive criticism theoretically so as to discredit and defeat them. Members of our worker-theorist contingents should continue their efforts in this direction.

The worker-theorist contingents have matured in the course of violent storms and waves, and their building should not be undertaken behind "closed doors." It is not for window-dressing but for fighting political and ideological battles that worker-theorist contingents are needed for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Some people say that members of worker-theorist contingents should "read some books behind closed doors" in order to gain some kind of respectability. This is wrong. To read books behind closed doors is not the way for worker-theorist contingents, but for scholars and academicians who lock themselves in ivory towers. Chairman Mao has said: "Of course we should study Marxist books, but this study must be integrated with our country's actual conditions. We need books, but we must overcome book worship,which is divorced from the actual situation." ("Oppose Book Worship") Questions that arise in the course of criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and our struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts must be given correct theoretical explanations. For example, what major changes have taken place in class relations during the period of socialist revolution? Why is the bourgeoisie within our Party the main target of socialist revolution? What are the class, political, ideological and economic causes for the generation of capitalist roaders within the Party? Why did the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, the like of which had not been seen since liberation, occur at a time when our struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, bourgeois rights, and the bourgeoisie within the Party was surging forward? To make these answers clear, we must scientifically analyze a host of real-life problems and thoroughly study the class and line struggle as they exist while conscientiously engaging in the study of books. Should we pursue "book worship divorced from actual conditions" as criticized by Chairman Mao, we would be nothing more than bookworms no matter how many more books we have read, and we would be incapable of fighting revisionism and correctly interpreting practical problems from the theoretical angle. The practice of the current struggle against the Right deviationist wind tells us that an important reason why a worker-theorist contingent can carry on its fight with a firm and clear-cut stand is that it develops the revolutionary style of learning of linking theory with reality. The comrades of the worker-theorist

group of Shanghai Metallurgical Machinery Repair Plant No. 2, when studying Lenin's writings in the early period of the victory of the October Revolution, wrote a large number of critical articles which were analytical and highly persuasive in the light of the fallacies dished up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and company in distorting the new economic policy set forth by Lenin and in defense of their promotion of "material incentives" and other sinister stuff. This spurred the anti-Teng struggle in the plant and the building of its worker-theorist contingent. To enable the worker-theorist contingents to play a more effective role in the struggle to criticize Teng, we must also more systematically study Marxist-Leninist works and the works of Chairman Mao. At the same time we must also read some of Lu Hsün's works, some history of Chinese philosophy, and some history of the international communist movement. While we are engaged in such study and research, we must not detach ourselves from the struggle in real life, but must serve it. This is a principle we must observe now and forever.

Though the worker theorists come from among the masses, they still face the problem of keeping in close touch with the masses. The struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is conducted under the leadership of Party committees at various levels, and the working class is the main force in beating back the Right deviationist wind. Of this main force the backbone elements are the worker theorists. Therefore, apart from striving to make a success of study and criticism, members of the worker-theorist contingents also have the task of guiding and leading the masses forward. To do this, they must take root firmly among the masses. Some comrades think that since they work in the factory, there is no question of their keeping close ties with the masses. This is not necessarily so! The worker-theorist group of No. 3 zone of Shanghai Harbor wrote some propaganda material in the course of the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. When this material was presented to the masses, the worker comrades said: "You have covered all the points we already understand, but you have not said anything we don't understand." Those who work on the dock and who do not understand the dock workers cannot be said to maintain close ties with the masses! Later, they made an investigation among the masses and became aware of the thoughts of the worker masses. So when they re-wrote their propaganda material, they took pains to unmask Teng Hsiao-p'ing and to relate theory to reality. As a result, the masses were better able to see what lies at the heart of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. The struggle to criticize Teng is a mass movement to criticize revisionism. Every worker-theorist fighter must keep in mind the truth that "the masses are the real heroes" and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary fallacy that "reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," so that he may strike deep root among the masses, modestly learn from them, and sum up the new experience of the masses in criticizing Teng. Otherwise, like a seedling pulled out of the earth, he will quickly wither, let alone guide and lead the masses forward.

Since the worker-theorist contingents work in the ideological sphere, class struggle in this respect will certainly be reflected directly and sharply inside our ranks. An important feature of this struggle is the question of how to deal with bourgeois rights. In provoking and inciting some people to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat, Teng Hsiao-p'ing often used bourgeois rights and the bourgeois idea of fame and gain

as bait. Did he not energetically preach the "white and expert" road? His purpose was to lead the intellectuals, including the worker-theorist contingents, astray. If we look back over the course of the growth of our theorist contingents, don't we see that some people used theoretical work as a brick to knock on the door of personal fame and gain? Don't we see that some people, after writing several good articles or compiling one or two books, could not stand the attack of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets and landed in a precarious situation? We must not regard these problems as merely the phenomena of certain individuals, but should draw on them as experience and lessons of class struggle. The theoretical work of the proletariat is a piece of serious scientific work. If one's world outlook is bourgeois, one is liable to accept bourgeois influence and follow the revisionist line. Selfish and weak, one will not be able to weather the heavy storms. The lessons in this respect are many and profound. The current deepening criticism of Teng and struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts have made new demands on the building of our worker-theorist contingents. Each of our worker-theorist fighters should endeavor to remold his world outlook and consciously resist the influence of the idea of bourgeois rights and various material temptations and corruption. We must persist in practicing Marxism and not revisionism and become pathbreakers in criticizing Teng and pacesetters in combating selfishness.

Worker-theorist contingents have matured under the Party's leadership and tender care. Both historical experience and present realities have shown that without careful education by Party organizations at various levels, nothing will be accomplished. Worker-theorist contingents must carry out their activities under the centralized leadership of the Party. It is wrong for them to go their own way without the guidance of the Party's basic line and the centralized leadership of Party organizations. Worker-theorist contingents should regularly report to the Party organizations on their ideological conditions and work; they should expose and resist all words and deeds driving a wedge between worker-theorist contingents and Party organizations. For their part, Party organizations at all levels also should include the building of worker-theorist contingents on their daily agenda to be treated as an important matter in combating and preventing revisionism over a hundred years. In the current struggle to criticize Teng, Party organizations should constantly join worker-theorist contingents in analyzing the situation of the struggle to criticize Teng, besides paying close attention to the study of worker-theorist contingents. They should organize theorist contingents to conduct investigations and set them fighting tasks as well as creating favorable conditions for the contingents' activities in many ways. To regard the training of worker-theorist contingents merely as finding a few people to write several articles or giving several lectures or setting up "a group of clerks"--this over-simplified thinking and practice is obstructive of the further growth of worker-theorist contingents.

"The end of struggle is not in sight." Although Teng Hsiao-p'ing has fallen, arduous and prolonged efforts are still required to completely liquidate his counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the ideological and theoretical fields. Danger and difficulties are not to be feared. We must ever go forward. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, with the education of the Party organizations at various levels,

and with the support and solicitude of the vast masses, worker-theorist contingents will certainly continue to expand and develop and become an important force in combating and preventing revisionism. Still greater victories will be won in the struggle by Marxism against revisionism.

(This article was written on the basis of discussions by several worker amateur writers of Shanghai Steel Mill No. 5, Shanghai Automatic Instrument Plant No. 1, Shanghai Metallurgical Machinery Repair Plant No. 2, and No. 3 Zone of Shanghai Harbor.)

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Worker Masses Supervise Leaders in Studying Theory Well

- Investigation of Tach'ang Mining Bureau, Kwangsi

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

In the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, the Party committee of Kwangsi's Tach'ang Mining Bureau organizes the worker-theorist contingent to check up on the conditions of theoretical study by leading groups at various levels. This provides us with a new experience in developing the role of the worker-theorist contingent.

The worker-theorist contingent of Tach'ang Mining Bureau was born in 1973 during the criticism of Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Through the movements to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, criticize Water Margin and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, this contingent has grown and expanded continuously, playing a relatively effective role in criticizing revisionism and the bourgeoisie, in combating and preventing revisionism and in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Last year, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," vigorously whipping up an "economic typhoon" and a "vocational typhoon," which also affected Tach'ang Mining Bureau. In some units the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship cooled down and the struggle to criticize revisionism and the bourgeoisie slackened. The shouting of erroneous slogans which negated taking class struggle as the key link was the loudest. This made the worker-theorist contingent feel that something wrong was going on. Discussion ensued. After serious consideration of this problem, the Party Committee of the Bureau realized that how to place the relationship between politics and economics was a question of what line should be followed and that the enterprises would go astray if study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship slackened. For this reason, the Party committee secretary proposed to organize the worker-theorist contingent to make an overall investigation into the conditions of theoretical study by the leading groups at various levels, and in this he was supported by the majority of the comrades.

However, these were some comrades who held that while it was possible to rely on the workers in checking the results of production, it wouldn't do to have them check the results of study by leaders. Therefore, the members of the Party committee re-studied the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" formulated by Chairman Mao. It became clear to them that workers' participation in enterprise management meant first of all managing the key link and the line and to organize the worker-theorist contingent to check the results of study by leading cadres, urge leaders to seriously grasp class struggle as the key link and to hold the enterprise to the socialist course was an important aspect of relying on the workers to manage the key

link and the line. They reviewed the vital role played by the worker-theorist contingent since its founding, seeing that the worker masses have rich experience not only in production struggle but also in class and line struggle, that they often outdo leading cadres in learning and applying Marxist theory as well as being more daring in combating and criticizing revisionism. This fully shows that "the masses are the real heroes, while we are childish and ignorant." ("Preface and Postscript to Rural Survey") In the matter of studying theory, is there any reason why workers cannot check and supervise the leaders and why a relationship of mutual learning and assistance should not be established between the leaders and workers? Why must leaders alone check and supervise the workers?

On this basis of unanimity of views, a workers theoretical study investigation group was set up at Tach'ang Mining Bureau in November last year. Formed by outstanding backbone worker theorists from various plants and mines and an appropriate number of cadres and under the leadership of the Bureau's Party committee, it set out to check the results of study by central study groups at all levels, including the Bureau's Party committee itself. In response to this, check-up groups were set up in plants, mines and workshops. It was ruled that workshop Party branches should be checked once a month, plants and mines once every three months, and the whole bureau be subjected to a general check-up on a half-yearly basis.

Such examination by the worker-theorist contingent helps leading cadres enhance their initiative to study. In the course of examination, the worker comrades hear members of the central groups speak of what they study, their methods, systems, progress and gains as well as existing problems, and read their study notes and essays. In addition, workers forums are called to find out the results of study by leading cadres, which are then evaluated. On completing the first general inspection of the results of study by leaders at all levels in the bureau, the workers study investigation group submitted a report to the Bureau's Party committee which not only was based on facts and analytical but also made positive recommendations. The Party committee promptly studied the report and adopted a resolution on further strengthening theoretical study by leading cadres at various levels. This resolution, together with the report, were printed and distributed in the entire bureau. It was stressed that leading cadres should recognize the importance of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship on the plane of combating and preventing revisionism, provide stronger leadership over the study, grasp it realistically and take the lead in study. Some leading comrades said: "This is a good reminder. It brings pressure and supplies a motive force. If we don't study harder, we won't have the right to speak." Since the counter-attack on the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts began, the bureau Party committee has organized a sample check and a general check. With the help and supervision of the workers investigation group, leading cadres at all levels have enhanced their initiative to study. The interest in studying theory has grown. They have truly taken the lead in study, criticizing Teng and beating back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Many leading cadres have earnestly written critical speeches and essays. The first mass criticism posters on beating back the Right deviationist attempt in Ch'angpo Mine, Pali Mine and other units were written by the central study groups of these mines. The workers reported that they had never seen our leading comrades showing such militancy and zeal in taking the lead in study and criticism.

The workers theoretical study investigation groups attach special importance to checking the style of study of the leading cadres, urging them to criticize Teng in depth in light of actual conditions and to seriously grasp class struggle as the key link in practical work. A mine which became an advanced unit during the cultural revolution reverted to the backward status in the past two years. The workers theoretical study investigation groups at the bureau and mine levels respectively both made several checks of it and pointed out that leading cadres shouldn't study theory off and on and must apply Marxist theory to solve the practical problems of class struggle in their mines. With the help of the bureau Party committee and on the basis of the opinions of the workers investigation groups, the leading group of the mine summed up its positive and negative experience in light of the past and present class struggle in the mine, while studying the series of Chairman Mao's instructions, such as "class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." It mobilized the masses to concentrate on criticizing Teng and hit at those bad people who attacked the socialist new things and undermined the foundation of socialism. The mine was engulfed by an upsurge of criticizing capitalism and revisionism and practicing socialism. Its passive situation was reversed quickly. In May this year the tunneling footage was 5.6 times the corresponding period of last year.

The workers investigation group has also promptly reminded leaders at all levels that in studying theory and criticizing Teng, they must seriously remold their world outlook in connection with their current thinking and take the lead in restricting bourgeois rights. It is stated that "whether leading cadres can take the lead in restricting bourgeois rights is an important indication of whether they have the determination to wage a protracted struggle against the revisionist line." The bureau Party committee takes the view that the opinions of the worker comrades are right and that if we, having become officials and had power, do not remold our world outlook, we will resent the restriction of bourgeois rights. Chairman Mao points out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." In the course of study, members of the bureau Party committee use this brilliant instruction as a weapon to analyze the evolution of this capitalist roader, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and, in connection with their thinking, sum up the experience and lessons to consciously remold their world outlook. They are determined that leading cadres should seek no political or material privileges but must serve as servants of the people so as to restrict bourgeois rights. They let this decision be known to all and encourage the masses to see to it that this decision is carried out.

In the course of check-up, the workers investigation group on the one hand reports to the leaders on the good experience gained by the masses in study and criticism and on their problems and demands. On the other hand, it reports to the masses similar experience and problems of the leaders. In this way, it not only checks and supervises leaders but also further arouses the enthusiasm of the worker masses in studying Marxist theory. An old worker said emotionally: "If we are to supervise the leaders in studying theory and taking the lead properly, we must study hard in the first

place, and only then can we discharge this heavy responsibility." Many instructors, having studied the leading cadres' spirit of reading seriously and striving hard to remold their world outlook, rise early and go to bed late, delving into theory and actively guiding study activities. With coordination all round and mutual assistance, theoretical study throughout the Bureau has gradually deepened. With enormous political enthusiasm, the masses of staff members and workers conscientiously study revolutionary theory, and wrathfully concentrate on criticizing Teng. Revolution has promoted production. From January to May this year, the Bureau's total output value rose by 9.01 percent compared with the corresponding period last year, while the total tunneling footage rose by 41.11 percent. Extraction, tunneling and ore dressing all showed higher rates than the comparable period last year.

Investigation by the worker theorist contingent of the results of theoretical study by leaders serves as effective criticism of Teng's reactionary fallacy that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." It breaks the trammels of bourgeois rights and is conducive to narrowing the differences between leading cadres and the worker masses in the enterprise and to establishing a new-type socilaist relationship among people. It also helps further arouse the sense of responsibility of the workers as masters and make them ardently assist the leadership in properly studying Marxism-Leninism and keeping to the line and shoulder the responsibility of properly managing the socialist enterprise together with leading cadres, so that leadership in the enterprise can truly be held by Marxists and the worker masses. Lenin pointed out: "If really all take part in the administration of the state, capitalism cannot retain its hold." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 257) Following the deep-going development of the socialist revolution, the worker-theorist contingent will certainly play a greater role in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Joint Investigation Team of Propaganda
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Prefectural Committee

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Fight Earthquakes with Mass Participation in Prediction and Precaution

by

Lungling County Party Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Two strong earthquakes, one of magnitude 7.5 and the other of magnitude 7.6, occurred in Lungling county at 22.23 and 22 hours on May 29 this year. Despite the intensity of the quakes, the large areas affected, and the heavy damage caused, men and animals suffered few casualties. This is due to the conscientious efforts of the people of various nationalities throughout the county to implement, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the policy for seismological work in our country by bringing into full play the immense power of mass participation in earthquake observation and taking precautionary measures. They fought the earthquake with calm and resolve. After the shocks, the people of the stricken areas, with the loving solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and the vigorous support of the people of the whole country, and taking class struggle as the key link and carrying out the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and with soaring revolutionary fighting will and firm confidence of victory, whipped up an upsurge of combating the quakes, providing relief and harvesting and planting crops on an emergency basis.

Lungling, a mountainous county, is known as an earthquake-prone area. The county's multinational inhabitants have long had the common desire to accurately observe laws of earthquakes and do a good job of earthquake prediction and taking precaution so as to successfully offset the effects of earthquake. In attending to this matter in all seriousness, the Party committee did much to safeguard the safety of the lives and property of the people of the whole county, protect socialist revolution and construction, implement the strategic principle "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural calamities and do everything for the people," and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the past, influenced by "mysticism" and idealist "agnosticism" about seismological work spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their gang, some comrades maintained that earthquake forecasting was an unresolved problem to many countries in the world. They contended that without seismological observatories and posts staffed by professionals and without precision instruments they found it difficult to get things started. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao smashed the revolutionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, enabling us to further master the policy for seismological work in our country. Under the Party's centralized leadership, we are determined to overcome the destructive effects of earthquakes by counting on taking precautionary measures, integrating the professionals with amateurs, combining modern and indigenous methods, and relying on the broad masses in doing a good job of earthquake prediction and taking precautionary measures.

Chairman Mao points out: "The mass movement is essential to doing any work and without it nothing can be done." Seismological work is no exception. We must adhere to the mass line and unfold the mass movement in a big way. As we know, an earthquake is an expression of continual motion and changes of matter within the earth, a reflection of the form of motion of various substances, physical, chemical and geological, within the earth's crust, and it is also influenced by the motion of matter of the celestial bodies and the atmosphere. At the same time, as in the process of motion of anything, an earthquake does not occur suddenly as it must go through a stage of formation and development. It is always preceded by the appearance of premonitory signs such as macroseismic and microseismic phenomena at the epicenter and its vicinity. Since seismological observatories and posts staffed by professionals cannot be set up in all localities, the tremors do not necessarily occur within the effective range of existing observation networks. Because phenomena preceding a quake are widespread and varied and considering the limited observation facilities at the disposal of seismological observatories and posts, quake warnings based on the timely and accurate observations of the unusual fluctuation by a small number of professional seismologists would be obviously most difficult. This contradiction can only be resolved by relying on the broad masses and through the integration of professional with amateur seismologists and combined application of modern and indigenous methods. In a socialist state of proletarian dictatorship such as ours, the masses of the people are the masters of the country as well as nature and they abound in a wealth of enthusiasm and creative power. As long as we fully arouse the masses and rely on them, gathering together our wisdom and devising ways and means, we shall be able to get hold of abundant data, provide observation work with a reliable basis and get to know, step by step, the laws governing earthquakes and effectively combat the disastrous effects of earthquakes.

During the great cultural revolution many localities sponsored mass participation in earthquake observation and prediction, involving the integration of professional with amateur seismologists and the combined application of modern and indigenous methods in the course of earthquake observation and prediction. By breaking down the old conventions and "mysticism," significant results were achieved. This provided us with considerable illumination. Vivid facts illustrate that mass participation in earthquake observation and taking precautionary measures is fundamental to offsetting the destructive effects of earthquakes. Whether or not we rely on the masses and sponsor mass participation in earthquake observation and taking precautionary measures is the key to whether we can promote faster development of seismology. It is also related to the cardinal issue of right and wrong in the struggle between the two lines. Given this understanding, we set up the County Seismological Office in 1970, concretely grasped mass earthquake observation and precaution, and incorporated the work into the Party committee's agenda. Under the direction of a deputy Party secretary, we frequently conducted research and on serveral occasions issued special notices to Party organizations at all levels, urging them to step up leadership over seismological work.

We have realized that to make a success of mass participation in earthquake observation and precaution, we should first of all undertake propaganda among the masses and organize them so they will understand the

immense significance of China's policy to[illegible] seismological work and mass participation in this program and [illegible] what an earthquake is and how to fight it. Previously, superstitious sayings [illegible] caused currency here attributed tremors to "the wrath of the Dragon King" and "the overturning of alligators." Although these superstitious beliefs were [illegible] cleared by most of the cadres and the masses, some people were so influenced by the reactionary views spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and their ilk who echoed the "Heavenly mandate" and "only the highest [illegible] and the lowest are stupid" concepts that they resided to [illegible] such work as beyond their power. In dealing with this tendency, we [illegible] to popularizing knowledge of earthquakes. Over the past years we printed and distributed more than 5,500 [illegible]ies of propaganda materials dealing [illegible] earthquakes, gave over 80 shows of films and lantern slides about [illegible] trained a backbone force of some 230 propagandists. In addition, [illegible] at various meetings, wired broadcasting and blackboard bulletins to [illegible] wide publicity to the occurrence of earthquakes. Through this effort [illegible] masses and cadres were weaned from superstitious beliefs and became [illegible] to revolution. They began to realize that earthquakes, [illegible] were common phenomena of nature and that earthquakes could [illegible] and precautionary measures taken before they occurred. [illegible]

to gather from the masses materials related to unusual fluctuation preceding an earthquake. In collaboration with seismological observatories and posts and exchanging information with the professionals, they often compare the data emanating from the masses with those obtained from seismological departments. By sifting and sorting out these data, discarding the dross and retaining the essence, they initially ascertained some laws governing forecasting in their areas and summed up some experiences in calculating the time, position and magnitude of earthquakes. They applied these experiences to analysis and earthquake prediction on 36 occasions in the past years, with 23 forecasts basically relevant to the collected data.

More than a month before the recent strong quakes occurred, taking into account the warning issued by the National Seismological Consultation Conference held in January 1975 that "earthquakes with an intensity of seven degrees and upward may occur in western Yunnan in the coming one or two years" and after observing unusual fluctuation of the telluric current, they initially concluded that relatively strong quakes might occur in the near future. They kept a close watch on the seismological conditions and conducted discussions three times. On the morning of May 28, they noticed unusual fluctuation in the telluric current, geomagnetism, local ground tilt, the radon content of the water and the different macroseismic and microseismic phenomena discovered by the mass observation points and the masses. This prompted them to predict the occurrence of quakes at an intensity of six degrees and upward in the Lungling-Luhsi area within a few days. A report was immediately made to the relevant department. The forecast accorded with the tremors that occurred later, illustrating that seismic laws and patterns could be accurately observed by the vast worker-peasant-soldier masses. This gave a forceful rebuff to the revisionist fallacy spread by Teng Hsiao-p'ing that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative."

The power of mass involvement with earthquake prediction and precaution is strikingly shown before the occurrence of an earthquake, for the cadres and the masses, armed with knowledge of tremors and their predictable phenomena, are able to adopt precautionary measures to offset the effects of an earthquake under appropriate leadership and in an organized manner. In the case of the recent strong quakes, similar instances are quite numerous. When unusual phenomena--fish overturned and cattle refused to enter the pen--were observed at daytime on May 29 in Chaoyang Commune in the epicenter, some cadres and masses there were alerted. When two foreshocks occurred, they realized that slight tremors would be followed by strong quakes. Thereupon, the commune Party committee and the Party branches of some brigades promptly alerted the militiamen to notify all production teams to evacuate. Despite considerable damage to houses caused by the quakes in the commune, casualties were reduced to a minimum. When cadres of Hsiaot'ienpa brigade, Chenan Commune, detected warnings before the shock, they immediately informed the masses through the wired broadcasting system to disperse as speedily as possible. By the time a strong quake occurred, they disregarded their personal safety and promptly organized sentry posts and patrols by militiamen as a precautionary measure against sabotage by class enemy. The buildings of this brigade were severely damaged but there was no loss of life. Under the firm leadership of the Party branch, there was an upsurge of harvesting and planting on an emergency basis three days after the shock. Many other communes and brigades, given quake warnings, adopted emergency measures, firing warning shots, turning on loudspeakers or making

phone calls to inform the masses to disperse. Others formed emergency rescue groups to offset and reduce the effects of the quakes. County hospitals and commune clinics moved their patients to safe areas. These precautionary measures helped reduce the losses in human life and property. The conscious actions of the cadres and the masses vividly testified to the great truth that "the masses are the real heroes." They further enlighten us and bring home the importance of arousing the masses and organizing them to take part in earthquake observation and precaution in a mountainous county like ours, where the inhabitants are scattered and communications undeveloped, so more people could know more about earthquakes. In this way, every commune and village threatened by critical conditions will be able to cope with earthquakes effectively.

Mass involvement in earthquake prediction and precaution demonstrates in a concentrated way the superiority of the socialist system and is possible only in a socialist state of proletarian dictatorship like ours. Our state represents the interests of the broad masses, has their welfare at heart and is responsible to them. Our cadres serve the people wholeheartedly. The masses of the people have a high degree of socialist consciousness. They take an active part in earthquake observation and precaution and regard this work as their duty. Led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our seismological work has truly become an undertaking of the state and the masses. This insures that seismology in our country has the support of the broad masses and is able to bring about integration between professional and amateur seismologists and combined application of modern and indigenous methods to overcome the limitations of seismological observatories and posts in its advance along the correct orientation. This is impossible in capitalist countries, for the bourgeoisie is merciless in oppressing and exploiting the broad masses of people and is hostile toward them, in utter disregard of their welfare. Before liberation, it will be recalled, strong quakes occurred in our county in 1906 and 1910, causing widespread destruction on both banks of the Lung River and heavy casualties and serious loss of livestock. Survivors were made homeless and had to flee to other areas and beg for food. The reactionary ruling classes were only concerned with the collection of exorbitant taxes and levies and cared nothing about earthquake prediction and precaution. People of our county contributed to the observations which made possible the prediction of the two strong earthquakes on the eve of their occurrence. After the quake, Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee cabled messages to express their concern and sent out a comfort mission. A dozen medical teams arrived from all parts of the country to bring succor to the stricken area, while squadrons of aircraft rushed relief supplies to the victims despite the inclement weather. The people's armymen risked their personal safety to save the lives and property of the inhabitants in the area hit by the quakes. An atmosphere of great enthusiasm and purposefulness in grasping revolution and promoting production prevailed in the stricken areas, where songs of victory were composed and sung. The poor and lower-middle peasants said with feeling: "When earthquakes occurred in the old society nobody cared about the collapsed buildings and heavy casualties, but in the new society precautionary measures are taken to offset the effects of earthquakes and the Party's concern warms our hearts. The two societies indeed are like two different worlds, one miserable and the other happy!"

Mass involvement with earthquake observation and precaution was conceived by our people during the great proletarian cultural revolution; it is a socialist new thing. Although what we have done in the past years contributed to this anti-earthquake fight, our effort in this field is merely the beginning. The laws governing the movement of quakes must be observed and probed incessantly in the course of practice. Mass participation in earthquake observation and prediction has to be improved, step by step, in the course of struggle. We must seriously sum up the experience gained from the seismological field and further improve mass involvement in earthquake observation and precaution. We are determined to take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line and lead the people of all nationalities in the county to unite in fighting by displaying the dauntless spirit of "not bending when Mount T'ai falls and not unyielding when the earth gives way to landslides." Let us go all out and aim high, achieve rejuvenation through self-reliance, develop production and rebuild our homes and vow to bring in a bumper harvest despite the onset of natural calamities. Let us repay the solicitude shown by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee with practical action and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts with concrete action.

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An Important Force in Rural Commerce

- Investigation of Huat'ing County, Kansu

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Party organizations at all levels in Huat'ing County, Kansu, in compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching "it is necessary to organize the strength of the masses" in economic work, have taken class struggle as the key link and made positive efforts to set up and popularize rural purchasing and marketing agencies with the support and coordination of commercial departments. Up to the first half of 1975, every production brigade in the county set up its own purchasing and marketing agency. These agencies were further consolidated and developed in the course of the struggle to criticize Teng and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. Practice shows that purchasing and marketing agencies can be established quickly and operated at a small cost without the need to increase full-time workers. It is a good form of relying on the masses to develop socialist commercial networks in the countryside and facilitate interflow of materials between city and countryside.

Purchasing and marketing agencies in Huat'ing County were set up under the situation of in-depth development of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture to reflect the strong desire of the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to persist in taking the socialist road and expand the rural socialist commercial position. The county is located in the Lung-tung mountainous region in Kansu, a place with undulating mountains and criss-cross ravines, little traffic and its population widely scattered. In the past it had few state-operated shops, and most of these were concentrated in the county town or along communication lines. This brought numerous difficulties to the masses in production and livelihood. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the vast numbers of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members criticized the revisionist line and launched in depth the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture. They had an increasing demand to manage and run their own commerce. Some production brigades in remote mountainous areas set up their purchasing and marketing agencies through their connection with the supply and marketing cooperatives of communes. These small stores, with capital and commodities allocated by the State, are run by the production brigades, and their workers are chosen by the poor and lower-middle peasants. Scattered widely, they are small in scale and buy and sell to the conveniences of the masses. However, due to the interference of the revisionist line, they did not develop fast. Then in the course of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius and to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the poor and lower-middle peasants deeply criticized the crimes of Lin Piao and company in sabotaging and strangling the socialist new things. The county Party committee actively supported the urgent demand of the broad masses, conducted a penetrating investigation into the conditions of class struggle on the rural commercial front at the grassroot level, and summed up the experience of some well-run purchasing and marketing agencies. In this way, purchasing and marketing agencies were quickly popularized throughout the county.

The establishment and popularization of purchasing and marketing agencies have consolidated the rural commercial front, expanded the socialist market and gradually become an important tool for Party organizations at all levels in the countryside to carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, due to the shortage and irrational distribution of rural commercial networks, the communes and brigades and commune members in remote mountainous areas could not sell their products nor buy what they wanted because state-operated stores were just too far away. Under such circumstances, profiteers became active, touring villages and brigades, selling at high prices state commodities they had bought and buying farm and subsidiary produce at low prices. By so doing, they exploited the commune members, undermined production, and sabotaged the fulfillment of the state purchasing plans. As soon as purchasing and marketing agencies came into being, led by Party organizations at all levels, they launched an attack against the capitalist forces through their business activities. On the one hand, they took over purchasing and marketing in the countryside, guaranteeing supply of needed articles for production and livelihood in the countryside and purchasing as much as possible farm and subsidiary produce and waste and old materials, thus providing commune members with convenient socialist purchasing and marketing channels. On the other hand, together with the masses, they exposed and hit at the activities of speculators, further drawing the the purchasing and marketing of commune members from rural trade fairs to state-operated commerce. This has helped overcome the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of a number of well-to-do peasants, restrict the negative role of rural trade fairs and expand the socialist market. Over the past several years, the amount of freely traded farm and subsidiary produce has been greatly reduced, while the turnover of state-run commerce has increased rather substantially in the county. In 1975, both sales and purchasing volumes in the rural parts of the county were up by 24.8 and 59.9 percent respectively compared with 1973.

Purchasing and marketing agencies, which have developed in struggle, also provide an important position for Party organizations at all levels to "constantly instill socialist ideas into the minds of the peasant masses and criticize capitalist tendencies." The peasant masses in Huat'ing county, led by the Party, are zealous in taking the socialist road. However, due to the existence of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and of the habits and influence of small producers, rather serious capitalist spontaneous tendencies are present among a number of peasants, well-to-do peasants in particular. Some communes and brigades engaged in planting and sales on their own. In light of this, under the unified leadership of Party organizations, the purchasing and marketing agencies actively guided and assisted production teams to make use of the natural conditions of mountainous areas and develop a diversified economy in a planned way, giving the needed support to teams which had temporary economic difficulties. At present, more than 200 products produced from over 30 trades such as planting, breeding, collection of herbs and bamboo weaving have been drawn into state purchasing plans. This has not only strengthened the collective economy but also helped the production teams to better implement the policy of "all-round development by taking grain as the key link." Meanwhile, active guidance has also been given to commune members in developing family sideline production. The purchasing and marketing agents often speak to the masses of the significance of selling farm and subsidiary produce to the state to support

socialist construction and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance so as to raise their socialist consciousness and gradually eliminate the influence of trade fairs over commune members' family sideline production. In the past, commune members used to sell most of their eggs to the trade fairs. In 1975 the quantity of eggs purchased by state-run stores tripled.

The development of purchasing and marketing agencies has also played a fine role in gradually narrowing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois rights. Purchasing and marketing agents are not only sales assistants but also commune members. Engaging in commerce as well as farming, they are not detached from collective productive labor nor from the masses. They are a new-born force on the commercial front. They strike root among the masses and understand clearly the background and needs of various production teams. As regards supply of the means of production, under the supervision of the poor and lower-middle peasants, they are able to make rational distribution in accordance with the actual requirements of collective production, and oppose such undesirable practices as "taking the back door." Many purchasing and marketing agencies also positively organize goods sources in regard to seeds, fertilizer and farm implements, give priority to supply to poor teams and help them transform their outlook.

Purchasing and marketing agencies in Huat'ing, having developed gradually, now become an important force on the rural commercial front. Recently, the county, under the leadership of its Party committee, summed up the experience in running purchasing and marketing agencies well. These are their main findings:

(1) Serious attention from Party committees at all levels is an important guarantee for successful operation of purchasing and marketing agencies. With a view to occupying the rural commercial position and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, Huat'ing County Party Committee attaches tremendous importance to this socialist new thing and constantly gives it stronger leadership. At each of the county, commune and brigade levels there is a responsible comrade to take charge of this work. Every year the county holds two meetings at which, together with purchasing and marketing agents and poor and lower-middle peasants and taking class struggle as the key link, it sums up experience, popularizes typical examples, commends the advanced and sets up pace-setters. This gives a tremendous impetus to the popularization of purchasing and marketing agencies.

(2) Participation by poor and lower-middle peasants in management is the key to successful operation of purchasing and marketing agencies. Each shop has a three-in-one combination management team composed of members of the brigade Party branch, representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants and purchasing and marketing agents. The team reports on and studies the opinions and demands of the poor and lower-middle peasants, strengthens supervision and control over the orientation and line of the purchasing and marketing agency, so it will persevere in the orientation of serving the poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members as well as serving agricultural production.

(3) The establishment of a contingent of revolutionized purchasing and marketing agents is an important basis for successful operation of purchasing and marketing agencies. Both the Huat'ing county Party committee and Party organization of county supply and marketing cooperatives attach importance to the organizational and ideological building of the contingent of purchasing and marketing agents. They select those commune members who have a good family background and high consciousness and enthusiastically serve the poor and lower-middle peasants and appoint them purchasing and marketing agents. Commune Party committees and brigade Party branches positively organize them to read and study seriously so as to constantly raise their consciousness of class and line struggle and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to set up the thought of serving the people wholeheartedly. Many agents, carrying goods on their backs, deliver the goods to the doorsteps of customers and purchase products from them, serving the poor and lower-middle peasants diligently. They persist in taking part in collective productive labor and consciously restrict bourgeois rights. They are welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants. They are affectionately called barefoot sale assistants whose hearts are drawn close to the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Joint Investigation Team of CCP Kansu Provincial Committee and CCP P'ingliang Prefectural Committee

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It Is Also Necessary to Learn from Tachai in Carrying Out Revolution in Health Work in the Rural Areas

by

Party Committee of Tachai Commune, Hsiyang County

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, while developing the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, our commune has seriously studied the experience of Tachai brigade in developing the health revolution in a penetrating way. This has led to profound changes in the outlook of health work throughout the commune. Practice makes us realize that in carrying out the revolution in health work in the countryside, it is also necessary to learn from Tachai.

When the health revolution started, some comrades held that, while it was vitally important to tackle agriculture, failure to tackle health work wouldn't affect the general situation. In the course of learning from Tachai, we gradually recognized what a muddle headed idea this was. Many facts of actual class struggle clearly show that the health front is one of the fronts for the violent contention between two classes and two lines. Before the cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang pushed a revisionist health line. Health work at that time served the urban overlords and capitalist roaders, and the power of medical and health administration was not in the hands of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Particularly in the countryside, there was a serious shortage of doctors and medicine. The masses of poor and lower-middle peasants "resist minor illness, lie in bed for major illness and despair when they are taken critically ill." The health revolution thus means that the medical and health power is to be wrested back from the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat is to be realized and consolidated on the health front. The Party branch of Tachai brigade regards the health front as an important front in the realm of the superstructure and the health revolution as an important part of the socialist revolution to be carried out in depth. It has strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the health revolution. Studying Tachai's experience has increased our understanding of the great significance of developing the health revolution and made us more conscious of our action. From the commune to its brigades, a deputy Party secretary is in charge of this work, drawing the health revolution onto the track of learning from Tachai, and following the continued deepening of the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture, the health revolution has also continued to score victories, the revisionist line on health has been more and more roundly criticized, and such socialist new things as barefoot doctors and cooperative medical service have kept growing and expanding.

Since the health revolution is a revolution in the realm of the superstructure, it invariably meets with all kinds of resistance, opposition from the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, sabotage by the revisionist line and interference from the force of old habit. Tachai's basic experience is to take class struggle as the key link, persist in all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and struggle against revisionism, capitalism and all kinds of force of old habits.

In unfolding the health revolution, as Tachai has done, we must likewise persist in taking class struggle as the key link. It is precisely in the course of learning from Tachai's basic experience and fighting various tendencies that run counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary health line that we have promoted the penetrating development of the health revolution.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line during the great cultural revolution, the broad masses of revolutionary people rose up to rebel against the former health ministry of urban overlords and wrested the power of medical and health work. However, blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in health circles, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to reverse the verdict on the former health ministry and the revisionist health line. The concrete class struggle tells us that if we do not stand up against this gust of Right deviationist wind, there is no way to unfold the health revolution. We organize barefoot doctors and professional medical personnel to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's "June 26" instruction, to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and launch criticism against the former health ministry of urban overlords. Everyone says that in the past the health ministry of urban overlords did not place the stress on health work in the countryside, did not place the stress on studying common and frequent diseases in the countryside when doing medical research, and did not serve the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. But now, Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempts to reverse the verdict on it and continue to push the revisionist health line, and this is something the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary medical workers will never tolerate. The criticism gave the professional medical workers and barefoot doctors of the commune a clearer perception of the reactionary essence of the revisionist health line and of the great significance of the policy "in medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas" as well as greater confidence and determination in carrying out the health revolution well.

The appearance of barefoot doctors and the cooperative medical service is a great achievement of the health revolution. Their appearance has dealt a heavy blow to the revisionist health line. Because of this, while reversing the verdict on the former health ministry of urban overlords, the bourgeoisie within the Party and class enemies in society at large also do their utmost to attack and undermine these two new things. Teng Hsiao-p'ing accuses the barefoot doctors of having a low standard, demanding that they wear straw sandals, rubber-sole shoes and leather shoes. Some people below respond by saying that barefoot doctors are "farm boys and girls incapable of treating diseases." We direct the barefoot doctors to read Marxist-Leninist and Chairman Mao's works and criticize these absurd arguments. Through study and criticism, the barefoot doctors are more apprehensive of the significance of "barefoot," more zealous in serving the poor and lower-middle peasants, and more active in taking part in labor. They consciously accept supervision from the poor and lower-middle peasants. They explain to the masses what they think, how they participate in collective productive labor and in collective distribution and how they carry out environmental hygiene and prevention and control of diseases. Barefoot doctors who treated patients at night worked as usual the next morning. When they finished seeing the patients in the daytime, they would still insist on taking part in labor even if there were only one hour left. To save the dying patients, some barefoot doctors applied mouth-to-mouth respiration at the risk of contracting the disease. Some barefoot doctors not only treated the patients,

but cooked for them and looked after their children. Delighted, the poor and lower-middle peasants said: "No other doctor, however good, could do as well as our barefoot doctors."

In enforcing the cooperative medical service, it is also necessary to eliminate interference of all old ideas. Some bad people made use of the concept of private ownership of small producers and said provocatively, "whether you are sick or not, you have to contribute two yuan." They attempted to wreck the cooperative medical service. In addition, there are some cadres and commune members who want to take a little advantage here. We believe that a doctor's office or clinic is a place for treating patients, but it is also a place for grasping class struggle and propagating Mao Tsetung Thought. Our doctors must treat not only sickness of the body but also sickness of the mind, so they must resolutely criticize those words designed to wreck the cooperative medical service. At present, most doctors are able not only to cure diseases but also to do ideo-political work and stick to principles. In curing diseases and applying medicine, they extend the same concern to strangers and friends alike, to people inside and outside the village, to cadres and masses, to themselves and others. Said the barefoot doctors firmly, "We will never use medicine as a means of cultivating personal connection or regard technique as capital. We will never use our prescriptions as passes for capitalism."

Another valuable experience of Tachai in developing the health revolution is that it takes the restriction of bourgeois rights and narrowing the gaps between the poor and the rich as its point of departure. As early as agricultural cooperativization, Tachai annually drew a certain amount of money from its public welfare fund to subsidize those commune members who had financial difficulties because of illness and to run the cooperative medical service. This greatly reduced the burden of those families which had financial problems because of illnesses. This experience is very important to us in developing the health revolution. When we started the cooperative medical service, some people said that "everyone pays but only a few are treated. This is the blowing of the communist wind." We criticized this fallacy. Before the cultural revolution, when commune members underwent surgical operations, the livelihood of their families was affected and even their children had to stop going to school. If this state of affairs continued, the gaps between the rich and poor households would widen. Therefore, the measures adopted by Tachai not only solved the concrete difficulties of individual commune members but, what was more important, restricted bourgeois rights and continued to narrow the distinction between the poor and the rich. This is the superiority of the cooperative medical service. Insired by the Tachai spirit, the masses pull their effort to foster the cooperative medical service and support the health revolution. Some returned the pills they had not used, some voluntarily asked for acupunctural treatment so the drugs might be given to their class brothers. The masses also grow or pick herbs and raise funds for the cooperative medical service.

Studying and popularizing Tachai's experience in developing the health revolution brought about an excellent situation in the health work of our commune. Now, every brigade has established cooperative medical service. The number of barefoot doctors has increased to 52, averaging one for 250 persons. Since 1968, such contagious diseases as poliomyelitis

and typhus have been basically eradicated, and the incidence of many common and frequent diseases has fallen by 60 percent compared with pre-1966 figures. Signs of prosperity are evident everywhere in the commune. People are working hard, criticizing capitalism and revisionism and building socialism. At present, the health revolution has developed to a new stage, and one of the important tasks before us is how to develop, augment and improve these two new things--the cooperative medical service and barefoot doctors. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we are determined to take class struggle as the key link, criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in depth, beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, further study and popularize Tachai's experience and make a greater success of the health revolution.

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Insist on Being "Barefoot," Never Change Color

by

Hou Lan-fu (侯兰伏),
a barefoot doctor of T'ienchiachi Brigade, Nankung County, Hopei

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Since I became a barefoot doctor on the recommendation of the poor and lower-middle peasants, under the leadership of the Party and educated and helped by the poor and lower-middle peasants, I have participated in agricultural collective productive labor while treating the poor and lower-middle peasants and engaging in the work of preventing and curing diseases. Practice makes me appreciate deeply that a barefoot doctor must insist on being "barefoot"--participating in agricultural collective productive labor and collective distribution. Otherwise, his relationship with the poor and lower-middle peasants will change, and so will his thought of serving the people.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, raised a hue and cry that barefoot doctors "after a few years should wear straw sandals, and when their knowledge increases several years from then, they should wear rubber-sole shoes" and then "leather shoes." This "shoe wearing theory" is directed at "barefoot," a total negation of our perseverance in "barefoot." It demands that we divorce ourselves not only from collective productive labor but also from collective distribution in an attempt to change the nature of barefoot doctors and to strangle this socialist new thing--barefoot doctors. What a downright reactionary!

For barefoot doctors to persist in participating in agricultural collective productive labor is the only way to remold their world outlook and revolutionize their thoughts. After being a barefoot doctor, I once had the thought of "not worthwhile." Chairman Mao's works pointed out the direction for me, and the poor and lower-middle peasants educated me in the course of labor. An old poor peasant in our brigade fought for the revolution during the war years. Since he was discharged from the army, he has been a hard-working peasant, toiling day and night. But he has never complained nor cared for personal loss or gain. Comparing myself with this selfless old poor peasant, I found what was wrong in my head. I recognized that I must look at my job in the light of the overall situation of the revolution. It is most "worthwhile" to be "barefoot" in order to oppose and prevent revisionism, to prevent and treat diseases for poor and lower-middle peasants so they may better till the land for revolution. Especially, the reminiscences of the poor and lower-middle peasants about the old society gave me a big jolt. During the cholera outbreak in 1943, more than 10 died in one day in our little village of about 200 people. My grandma and my uncle died one after the other the same day. At that time, the poor people could not afford to see doctor or buy medicine. When they fell ill, they could only look up to heaven. Today, in a society in which we the laboring people are the masters of our own house, we must not allow repetition of such a tragedy. After I thought of all this, the knot was untied in my

mind. I made up my mind to dedicate my life to being a barefoot doctor for the revolution. Facts show that although most of barefoot doctors come from families of poor and lower-middle peasants, since we live in the milieu of class struggle, our thoughts may also be encroached upon or influenced by the landlord and bourgeois ideology and old traditional ideas. If we do not conscientiously remold our world outlook, we may become their captives. All the while actual struggle is testing us. For instance, when we are treating patients or delivering babies, we are often invited to dinner or presented with gifts. In the majority of cases these offers stem from gratitude, but whether we should accept them or not reflects two different types of world outlook, i.e., the bourgeois and the proletarian. In order to resist the erosion of bourgeois ideology it is necessary to persist in participating in collective productive labor and in the three major revolutionary movements. Only in this way can we draw political nutrition from the masses, maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit, preserve the fine quality of hard work and plain living of the laboring populace, keep our heads clear, and be immune to corruption.

Apart from facilitating the remolding of their world outlook, participating in collective productive labor may enable barefoot doctors to maintain extensive and close ties with the masses, understand them, master the general patterns of diseases and their incidence among the masses, and so better serve the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants have such an ardent love for the collective that, to avoid being absent from work, they often ignore their chronic or common minor illnesses and persist in participating in collective productive labor even when falling sick. Once, an old poor peasant suffered from influenza with 39°C fever, and collapsed in the field. He was carried home and recovered after treatment. However, he had suffered a lot, and collective production was also affected. This incident jolted me greatly. I felt deeply that only when a barefoot doctor worked with the commune members and brought his medicinal chest to the field could he treat the masses conveniently and in time. At the same time, while taking part in labor he might also find out the general patterns of diseases inflicting the masses, extensively impart to the masses knowledge of hygiene, carry out the policy of "put prevention first" and fully mobilize the initiative of the broad masses in preventing and treating diseases. Over the past years, I have worked alongside the masses undertaking basic construction in rural health centering on "two pipes" (water and sewer pipes), "five improvements" (improving water wells, latrines, livestock pens, stoves and environmental hygiene). Since 1970, epidemic and contagious diseases such as epidemic encephalitis, B encephalitis, pulmonary tuberculosis, pertussiś, hepatitis, parotitis and poliomyelitis have not occurred in our brigade and the health standards of the commune members have improved considerably.

In the course of their protracted struggle against diseases, the broad masses have accumulated rich experiences. By taking part in agricultural collective productive labor, barefoot doctors can learn from the masses many effective methods of treating common and frequent diseases in the rural areas and raise their medical standards. When I first became a barefoot doctor, I could recognize but few species of herbs, let alone concoct and prescribe them. In the course of working with the masses, I constantly sought their advice and learned from their experience. Together with other barefoot doctors, I have collected over 160 kinds of indigenous

empirical single herb prescriptions, and I now can concoct 104 types of ointments, mineral pills / chiefly consisting of Hg and S compounds / pellets and powder. By using these empirical prescriptions and herb medicines for the treatment of diseases among the masses, it is possible both to economize on the cost of the cooperative medical service and to improve the therapeutic effect. For example, I collected a few unorthodox prescriptions from the masses, concocted a "dierrhea powder," and used it to heal a poor-peasant commune member suffering from many years of intractable "early morning diarrhea." Applying integrated traditional and Western therapeutic measures, I used pig's bile solution to cure several commune members of chronic bronchitis. An old woman, a dependent of an armyman, suffered from thrombocytopenic purpura complicated with anasarca with frequent epistaxis. She had visited many medical establishments in other localities, but failed to respond to treatment. I cured her with the herbs grown in our brigade. These facts show that by persisting in participating in agricultural collective productive labor and judiciously handling the relation between labor and prevention and treatment of diseases, barefoot doctors not only can continue to raise their medical standard, but also gain a lot of knowledge which cannot be obtained from books or hospitals and improve their skill of serving the poor and lower-middle peasants. If we yielded to Teng Hsiao-p'ing and did not take part in labor, it would have been impossible to do all this.

The most important thing for barefoot doctors to participate in collective productive labor and collective distribution is to restrict bourgeois rights and narrow the differences between mental and manual labor. This will both assure that the power in medical and health work in the countryside will forever be in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants and enable us barefoot doctors to keep the color of the laboring masses. If barefoot doctors are separated from collective distribution, the gaps in personal income between us and the poor and lower-middle peasants will widen and bring about the estrangement of barefoot doctors from the masses. We are doctors of the poor and lower-middle peasants and our destiny is tightly tied with that of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Our future is closely related to socialism and communism. Serving the people wholeheartedly is our glorious bounden duty, and restricting bourgeois rights is our long-term fighting task. We become doctors not for wages but for the sake of revolution. Barefoot doctors differ from other commune members only in the kind of work they do, not in rank. There must be no difference in pay. This is so even if one has accumulated more practical experience and done more work for the people. For many years I have been persisting in participating in collective distribution without ever asking for more work points, more allowances or any special privileges. I have maintained an equal and intimate comradely relationship with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Barefoot doctors who participate in collective productive labor and distribution are warmly welcomed and supported by the poor and lower-middle peasants. By trumpeting the "shoe wearing theory," Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempts to sever our flesh and blood relations with the poor and lower-middle peasants, to re-create separation and opposition between mental and

manual labor, to create new class polarization, to drag barefoot doctors out of the ranks of poor and lower-middle peasants and turn them into "mandarin doctors" pursuing private profits, and to allow the bourgeoisie to re-impose its dictatorship over the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants in the realm of health and medicine. We must take class struggle as the key link, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, conscientiously study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao in the course of struggle, study Chairman Mao's important directives on beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and make an effort to remold our world outlook. Like white willow trees on the plains of northern China, we barefoot doctors must grow and be strong in the midst of wind and rain, always make revolution with "barefeet," forever become one with the poor and lower-middle peasants and serve them wholeheartedly, and strive to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in health work to the end!

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Do Everything in the Interests of the People

- Investigation of Shenyang Chemical Works which does a good job in environmental protection

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1976)

Shenyang Chemical Works is a factory producing chloric soda chiefly by electrolyzing sodium chloride. Large quantities of exhaust gas, waste water and slag are turned out in the course of production. With the scale of production expanded and the varieties of products increased, the question of handling the "three wastes" and protecting and improving the environment has to be faced with increasing urgency. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, this factory further studied the relevant instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, criticized Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and relied on and mobilized the masses to get rid of what was evil and promote what was beneficial and handle the "three wastes." Relatively good results were achieved in this connection. After a few years' efforts, black smoke emitted no more from all the eleven smokestacks of the 31 furnaces, and the release of harmful exhaust gas, waste water and slag decreased by more than 90 percent. A total of 69 measures for handling the "three wastes" were adopted, pollution was basically eliminated, and a number of new products were turned out for the state by making comprehensive use of the "three wastes." In the areas surrounding the factory grass and trees did not grow in the past; now trees grow luxuriantly to provide shade and flowers blossom. The broad masses of workers and staff members are high in revolutionary spirit. The output of major products topped that before the great cultural revolution by one to six times.

The practice of Shenyang Chemical Works proves once more that developing industrial production and protecting the environment can go hand in hand. In the course of developing production, it is entirely possible to adopt an active attitude and make an effort to eliminate pollution caused by the "three wastes." The important thing is to continuously adjust the ideological and political line of the leadership before this job can be done satisfactorily.

"Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." In handling the "three wastes" and protecting the environment, as in doing other work, it is necessary to perseveringly criticize the revisionist line and continuously eradicate its influence. Shenyang Chemical Works has realized deeply from practice that the theory of productive forces trumpeted by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing poses a serious obstacle to environmental protection. Before the great cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company put "production in the first position" and profits in command, paid no attention at all to the sufferings of the workers and the masses and took no heed of environmental pollution. Influenced by this revisionist line, the leaders of this factory generally had the idea that "pollution by the three wastes is unavoidable." They held that "in the chemical industry, it is impossible not to let out a bit of poisonous gas." They cared only for production, and attached no importance to handling the "three wastes." They even set the development of production against environmental protection. Consequently, pollution by "three wastes" was not brought under effective

control. Through the cultural revolution, the revisionist line and the reactionary theory of productive forces were criticized. The Party committee of the factory heightened its consciousness in running an enterprise in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It also heightened its understanding of handling the "three wastes" and environmental protection. In 1972, inspired by the National Conference on Elimination of Smoke and Dust, the broad masses of workers and staff members of the factory, after more than two months of hard work, solved the problem of smoke emission from its smokestacks. Then they actively handled the four big evils of "three gases and one water" and achieved initial good results.

But, the struggle against the revisionist line is protracted. In one period, a reactionary trend of thought aimed at restoring capitalism appeared in society, and when reflected in this factory, it gave rise to the ideas of "production first" and profits in command. A kind of poisonous slag was produced in the course of producing trichlorobenzene. To solve this problem, it was necessary to change the technological process. But bent on pursuing production value and profits, the leaders of the factory belatedly did not make up their minds to tackle this problem; instead, they tried to boost production by such measures as elevating the grades of health insurance, increasing workers' subsidies and giving them more holidays. During the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, many workers put up big-character posters and cried aloud: "We want to be masters of the state and the enterprise, not slaves of money." They criticized the Party committee for taking restorationist and regressive steps. The worker masses asked: if we grasped only production and ignored pollution caused by "three wastes," what difference would there be between our factory and one run by capitalists? Their acute criticism gave the Party committee a great jolt. When the leading comrades of the Party committee came to the shop floor and joined the workers in criticizing revisionism, they had one more deep lesson on the line. They re-studied the relevant instructions given by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and summed up their experience on the plane of the line. They came to recognize that eliminating pollution and protecting the environment was a major problem concerning the health of the masses of the people and the development of industrial and agricultural production as well as an important aspect of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in economic work. In running a socialist enterprise, it is necessary to perseveringly put proletarian politics in command and absolutely impermissible to put "production first" and profit in command. It is imperative to follow Chairman Mao's teaching to "do everything in the interests of the people." Only by pondering problems and doing things in this way can we keep to the orientation of socialism and correctly handle the relationship between production and environmental protection. Driven and helped by the worker masses, the Party committee heightened its understanding and fortified its confidence, and over the past few years, it has taken environmental protection as a major task, put it on the daily agenda, drawn up a general plan and made unified arrangements so as to handle the "three wastes" in a planned and systematical way, by stages and groups.

Development of industrial production and environmental protection are opposites in unity. They contradict as well as complement each other. In the past, influenced by the revisionist line, the leaders of this

factory often saw that development of production brought along the problem of environmental pollution, but failed to see that it also increased our ability to protect the environment and that protection and improvement of the environment created essential conditions for production and further promoted the development of production. Facts show that this is a metaphysical viewpoint. During the mass movement to innovate techniques and increase production, the lubricant workshop of the factory succeeded in trial-making a new catalyst which brought about remarkable results in increasing production. At the same time, however, it caused exhaust gas of hydrochloric acid, and pollution. In solving this problem, the worker masses applied the viewpoint of unity of opposites in finding the way for resolving this contradiction. They made further innovation on the original basis, shortened the cycle of reaction, increased the frequency of production and eliminated pollution by the exhaust gas of hydrochloric acid. Production registered a new step forward since the first innovation. This incident enlightened the leaders of the factory. In handling "three wastes," they saw to it that measures were taken simultaneously to increase production, practice economy and make technical innovation. Over 90 percent of the more than 60 projects for handling "three wastes" were carried out under these conditions. After some projects were realized, the working environment was improved and productive capacity increased. In other cases, the technological process was shortened and work was facilitated. In still other cases, the consumption of raw materials and fuels was reduced and production cost lowered. At present, this factory annually recovers large quantities of waste acid and alkali and makes comprehensive use of them to turn out 21 varieties of industrial chemicals worth more than 1.3 million yuan. Of course, there are also certain projects which for the time being do not yield great benefits to the factory but which must be carried out on the basis of the needs of socialist construction as a whole and are beneficial in the long run.

Maintain independence, take the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts--this is the basic policy for China's socialist construction and the principle which must be followed for environmental protection. We must not ask for state aid at the mention of these control projects, nor should we stop because we run into some temporary difficulties. The Party committee of the factory has come to realize from practice that environmental protection affects the well-being of the masses of people, that the masses have not only the urgent demand for eliminating pollution and improving the environment but also unlimited wisdom in handling the "three wastes," and that it is inopportune to see the role of a few specialists and fail to see the wisdom of the worker masses. The masses are the real heroes, and genuine knowledge comes from practice. Leaders must trust and rely on the masses and fully exploit their enthusiasm for socialism. Once the masses are aroused, the spirit of self-reliance will be displayed, and many difficulties will continue to be settled in the course of advance. In the electrolysis workshop, a kind of waste water containing chlorine was produced, causing water pollution. This had long been a knotty problem. In the past, a few people were depended on to solve it and foreign methods were copied, but for a long time the problem was not solved. The workers, groping for experience in practice, drew up a new plan for technological innovation. The Party committee gave warm support to their proposal, and the workers' enthusiasm for

socialism was brought into full play. The workers put forward the slogan, "two do the work of three and spare one to join the battle." After several months' hard work, they installed four coolers, reduced pollution and improved the environment, in addition to recovering 400 tons of chloric gas every year and saving 300,000 yuan for the state. The bleaching powder workshop had been using an old bleaching tower, its technology was backward, output was low, working conditions were poor and environmental pollution was serious. During the great cultural revolution, the workers were determined to get rid of this huge monster. Repairing the old and using the waste, they built a set of small, handy and easily operated bleaching machines, manufactured and installed a set of devices for comprehensive use of exhaust gas, and produced a highly-effective waterproof agent of fine quality. The whole project cost only 3,000 yuan. With self-pride, they praised this set of machines, saying: "They are small and handy and are new in design. They can be made with ordinary steel. They won't let chloric gas escape. Their output is greater than that of the big tower."

When the masses are really mobilized, it is possible not only to control "three wastes" effectively but also to form a situation where everyone is concerned for environmental protection. The workers say, "we should think, work and be responsible as masters of the house." And they actively make suggestions and try to device methods. They inspected one by one 130,000 leaks in the factory, launched activities of stopping leakages, and as a result, the rate of leakage of seals has dropped below 0.2 percent. Also, making use of the sensitive reaction of plants to poisonous gas, they grow a large number of flowers and trees inside the factory area as "eyes" watching out for pollution caused by "three wastes" and as "sentinels" for environmental protection.

In the course of handling "three wastes" and eliminating pollution, there is no limit to knowledge of these problems. "Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing." Since the struggle to criticize Teng and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts started, the Party committee of this factory has further summed up experience in connection with the criticism of the revisionist fallacies spread by Teng Hsiao-p'ing on the industrial front, and mobilized the masses to carry out an all-round investigation of the work on environmental protection. They are determined to seriously study a series of important instructions issued by Chairman Mao, criticize Teng in depth, take class struggle as the key link and, in the course of developing production, make a still greater success of controlling "three wastes" and the work of environmental protection.

Investigation Team of Shenyang
Municipal Revolutionary Committee

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A Tentative Discussion of the Earliest Class Differentiation in Our Country

- Some analysis of the cultural relics and archaeological material of primitive society

by

Wei Chin (卫今)

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Classes did not exist with the beginning of mankind, nor are they eternal.

How did the primitive commune without classes and distinctions between rich and poor disintegrate step by step? How did the earliest class differentiation occur? What social factors played an important role in its appearance? The large amounts of cultural relics and archaeological material of China's primitive society and data gathered from investigations of various nationalities unfold before us a broad outline of historical development.

By probing into the origin of class differentiation, we shall be able to better recognize how to abolish classes in the future. This is of vital significance for us in carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of theory and beating back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, in criticizing Teng in depth, further understanding the importance of restricting bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat and how to gradually "create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new one to arise." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 498).

I

History tells us that classes emerged in the wake of the appearance of private property and the distinctions between rich and poor.

In primitive society that lasted about a million years, the means of production was owned by the public. Collective labor and egalitarian distribution were the basic principles governing social life in those days.

The world famous Panp'o site in Sian was a specimen of the mother-right clan commune of our country's primitive society at its prospering stage. How were products of labor distributed at that time? Direct perception of this is of course impossible from archaeological excavations, but the system of distribution that prevailed at that time can be seen from the form of storage of the means of subsistence. On the Panp'o site were discovered more than 200 cellars, distributed densely outside houses. In some places more than ten cellars were concentrated to form a cluster of cellars. It is not difficult to see that the fruits of labor at that time were stored collectively and distributed on an egalitarian basis; none was owned privately. Furthermore,

judging from the tombs at Panp'o, articles that were buried with the dead not only were few in number, but almost all of them were pottery used as everyday utensils, in addition to a small quantity of tiny ornaments. Production tools generally were not buried with the dead and were retained in the clan for continued use by others. It can be seen that there were few personal belongings in society as a whole.

Following the development of social production, private property and distinctions between rich and poor gradually appeared and the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces developed. The primitive commune system finally embarked on the road toward disintegration, and human society began its march toward civilization.

Roughly five thousand years ago, the father-right clan society replaced the mother-right clan society in many parts of our country. In their prolonged production struggle, people gradually accumulated some production experience, and labor productivity also continued to rise. With the application of such tools of production as stone sickles, shell sickles, stone hoes, and stone plows, primitive agriculture made new progress. There was a marked increase in the number of harvesting tools unearthed from many sites of this period. For instance, harvesting tools unearthed from K'eshengchuang in Shensi were six times as many as reclaiming and planting tools, indicating that crop yields at that time had increased enormously. The vast number of skeletons of horses, oxen, sheep, chickens, dogs and pigs unearthed from sites of this period showed that animal husbandry and domestic livestock breeding also developed appreciably. At the same time, handicraft was separated from agriculture and formed an independent production sector. In particular, the appearance of huge quantities of wheel-made pottery indicated that the pottery industry had extensively adopted the wheel-making techniques, which not only considerably raised the quantity of products and improved their quality but also called for specialization of the pottery industry, with the result that pottery manufacturing gradually turned from a joint undertaking of the clan into a production sector controlled by a small number of families with the skill and experience of making pottery.

Owing to the improvement of productivity and the development of social division of work, contraction of basic production units was not only necessary but entirely possible. Collective farming and collective hunting by the clan were gradually superseded by farming and hunting by individual families dominated by their male chiefs. A series of profound social changes also occured in succession.

These changes were first of all manifested to a considerable extent in the sphere of distribution. With the bankruptcy of the principle of collective labor of the clan, the fruits of labor with the family as the unit were gradually owned by these families and became their private property. In the sites of primitive settlements of roughly this period, large houses for communal life of clans seen in the Panp'o site were no longer found and rarely seen also were clusters of cellars located densely outside houses. In their place were found houses of relatively small size suitable for various families. Inside many of these houses or in their vicinity were

excavated small cellars for family storage. Even small pottery kilns were built inside some of these houses. These archaeological data reflected vividly that private property had already appeared at that time.

What is even more noteworthy is that with the appearance of private property, products of labor performed jointly by several families were no longer distributed according to the principle of egalitarian distribution but in accordance with the efficiency of labor by each. An illustration of this was provided by the data of investigations carried out in the Olunchun nationality in Heilungkiang and in the Tulung nationality in Kungshan, Yunnan, both of which were in the disintegrating stage of primitive society prior to the liberation. In the case of the Oluchun nationality, the spoils were originally distributed on an egalitarian basis among members of the clan; later they were gradually distributed on an egalitarian basis among hunters. Women who went along with the hunters and did subsidiary work were only given half a share or less. In the Tulung nationality such changes were manifested in a more outstanding manner. When hunting was jointly carried out by several families, the heads and skin of animals caught were given to those who shot them and the rest were distributed on an egalitarian basis. Those who had better skills were given more. In order to tell who shot the animals, they made special marks on the arrowheads used by various families.

Apart from changes in the form of distribution, the means of production originally owned by the clan commune were also successively turned into private property of families. The process of this change, however, was not accomplished at one stroke. The first to be turned into private property were livestock and production implements. In the Owenk nationality in Heilungkiang which as still in the disintegrating stage of primitive society prior to the liberation, the first things that were turned from individual control and use into family private property were hunting tools and tamed deers. In the clans of fixed settlements, the next things that were turned into private property were houses and lastly the land, the principal means of production. The evolution of land into private property, judging by the data gained from the investigation of the Tulung nationality, underwent several transitional stages - from public ownership to private ownership through joint ownership and farming by several families.

Although the clan commune which represented public ownership and the individual families which represented private ownership existed side by side for a very long time, the latter appeared in response to the demands of the developing productive forces at that time, and so they became more and more active and predominant. At that time, as Engels pointed out, "the family has become a kind of force to threaten the clan." ("The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 158)

Inequality of distribution and the conversion of public property into family private property led to rapid differentiation between the rich and the poor. Conditions varied from family to family: they differed in the strength of labor power, in technical level, in the quantity and quality of the means of production owned. Some families, in addition, suffered from

natural calamities, pestilences, and other accidents. As a result, while some families became rich, other families were impoverished. The discovery of the cluster of tombs in Tawenkou of T'ai-an, Shantung, was an important discovery of sites of the late period of primitive society in our country. There, in many small tombs only one or two simple articles, such as a hand loom or a shell sickle or nothing at all were buried with the dead. On the other hand, in a small number of big tombs of the rich, the tomb caves were huge with a vast amount of articles buried with the dead. In a large tomb, primitive wood-alcohol was used. The deceased wore on the head three strings of ornaments made of marble and turquoise, on the right wrist an emerald bracelet, and on the waist an emerald spade. Buried in the tomb also were two ivory figured pipes, two pig heads, 84 crocodile-scale boards and a large quantity of exquisite pottery. It was obvious that the deceased enjoyed an eminent social position and possessed a large amount of private wealth before his death. The differences between these two different types of tombs bring into sharp focus the striking degree to which polarization between the rich and the poor reached at that time.

To be sure, in primitive society, the appearance of private property and polarization between rich and poor did not mean that classes had been born. The basic hallmark of the birth of classes was exploitation, when a number of people, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production, appropriated without compensation the fruit of labor of another section of people. However, the rapid growth of private wealth and the violent polarization between rich and poor inevitably led to exploitation and created the direct premise for the use of slave labor.

Engels pointed out: "If greater inequality takes place in distribution among its members, then this is the sign that the commune begins to break up." "Following the appearance of differences in distribution, class distinctions also appear." ("Anti-Duhring," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, p. 187) It can be seen that class differentiation emerged with the inequality of distribution, in conformity with the law of historical development at that time. Living in the socialist period and fighting for the realization of communism, we must be mindful of this problem--to restrict the inequality of distribution. If this problem were handled improperly, new class differentiation would result.

II

In the course of the dissolution of primitive society and the emergence of classes, commodities and exchange through money played an extremely vital promotional role.

At the prospering stage of the mother-right clan commune, the economy which was rather closed and produced what it consumed occupied an absolutely dominating position. Exchanges between various clans and tribes only played a secondary role in the socio-economic life as a whole. By the time the mother-right clan society was gradually passing over to the father-right clan society, two new social factors emerged. First, with the development of the productive forces emerged independent handicraft bearing the character of commodity production, followed by substantial development in exchange activities. Inside a tomb at Tawenkou, Shantung, buried with the dead were a whole set of production tools, a large quantity of bone and teeth materials, and anhydroferrite used for the coloring of bone implements, suggesting that

the deceased was engaged in making bone implements before his death. Second, following the appearance of individual families and private wealth, exchanges between one family and another and between one individual and another developed rapidly. In the cluster of tombs at Tawenkou, it seemed that luxury articles such as turquoise, emerald bracelets and ivory carvings which were buried with the rich were obtained through exchange. When the principle of exchange of commodities intruded into the clan, it caused the relationship of voluntary mutual aid between families and individuals to be replaced by the callous relationship of exchange, whetting the appetite of some wealthy families to chase after private wealth. On the other hand, some poor members of the clan gradually sank into utter poverty as they did not have sufficient materials and products for exchange.

The exchange of commodities began in the form of barter. When it developed to a certain extent, due to its own contradiction, a new commodity was differentiated from the commodities and might be exchanged for all categories of commodities or used for the evaluation of other commodities. This "common commodity" was money.

Money in the late period of primitive society was not minted with metal. The earliest money was concrete objects, such as livestock, shells, etc. Taking livestock as a general equivalent in the exchange of commodities was not uncommon in the findings of investigations of minority nationalities in our country. Prior to the liberation the people of the Tulung nationality in Yunnan had the following fixed exchange rate when conducting exchanges:

One small pig = one 8-inch pot = 50 buckets of millet
One medium-sized pig = one 1.6 foot pot = 100 buckets of millet
One large pig = one 1.8 foot pot = 150 buckets of millet
One fat pig = one 2 foot pot = 250 buckets of millet

As shown by materials found in archaeological excavations, sites of the late period of primitive society starting with the Shantung peninsula in the east and extending to the northwest region in the west, there was the custom of burying with the dead lower jawbones of pigs or sheep. From a tomb in Kansu more than 60 pieces of lower jawbones of pigs were unearthed. Apparently, these lower jawbones of pigs or sheep were used as marks for the wealth of the deceased or possibly as symbols of money. Data regarding the use of shells for money were even more generally found from archaeological finds. In a site of the late period of primitive society in Tatientzu of Aohan Banner of Liaoning, there was a tomb where, apart from domestic animals, turquoise string pearls and figured pottery which were buried with the dead, 294 artificial shells which were intensively processed with sea-shells were lined up at the lower end of the deceased's legs. That people used such a vast amount of labor to produce imitated shells reflected the pursuit of money by some people following the development of private property.

In those days money was a kind of new social force, and its appearance produced a huge impact on the dissolution of the clan commune.

As a general commodity, money might be used to exchange for any one kind of commodity and this gave rise to hot pursuit of money by the rich. Originally, when a certain specific article was pursued as a goal, one was satisfied with the acquisition of such an article; now, with the pursuit of money, such greed was insatiable.

Money also gradually became a means used by the rich to exploit the poor. Rich people who held money, by exploiting the poor members of the clan in the form of loans, brought exploitation by usury into the clan commune. When debtors were unable to pay back their loans, creditors could ruthlessly drive them or their families into slavery.

Quite clearly, commodities and exchange through money emerged with private wealth and social division of work and, in turn, greatly stimulated the drastic growth of private wealth and the rapid expansion of the gaps between rich and poor. In the subsequent class society lasting several thousand years, commodities and exchange through money continued to develop, and by the time of capitalist society they developed to a still higher level. Under socialist conditions, although there is still a need for the existence of commodities and exchange through money, they may also give rise to new class differentiation, arousing among a section of people the greed and pursuit of private wealth. If the principle of exchange of commodities were extended to the various aspects of social life, it would undermine the socialist relationship between one man and another. Hence, the need to restrict such a negative role.

III

The development of productive forces led to a series of changes in the relations of production. Apart from the changes which took place in the relations of distribution and in the system of ownership, radical changes also occurred in the relationship among people. Economic inequality inevitably led to political inequality. A small number of power holders of the clan and wealthy families gradually gained control of all the power within the clan, and their relations with other members of the clan gradually turned from equal to unequal relations. Moreover, making use of their power, they gradually usurped property. Consequently, power became the catalyst for the birth of the slave system.

Such usurpation also began with the exchange of commodities. Exchanges between clans and tribes were originally conducted by the leaders of the clan or tribe on behalf of their members. The things they got through exchange were owned collectively. However, following the germination of the system of private ownership, the leaders of these clans made use of their power to dominate the allocation of the things acquired through exchange to make private gains. At first, they only got some more than other members, but later they took the lion's share.

When the public property of the clan commune began to be converted into private property of families, such upper-level people as clan leaders carried out their usurpatory activities turning public property into private on a still larger scale. When the public land of the clan was turned into

private land in Tulung nationality in Yunnan, its leaders invariably abused their power and got far more and better land than the others. The family of one leader acquired more than 60 mow of fertile land in the vicinity of its village. In the late period of primitive society there was after all a certain limit to the gaps between rich and poor caused by inequality of distribution, but when a small number of people made use of their power to carry out large usurpations, such inequality and the widening of such gaps were unlimited. It was in this sense that, when analyzing the historical process of the dissolution of primitive society, Marx and Engels pointed out with emphasis: "Real private property was everywhere produced because of usurpation." ("German Ideology," Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, p. 422)

In the ever expanding private economy of these rich families enjoying special privileges, expanded private land meant that more people were required to till the land, and so did the increased propagation of private livestock. The development of production gave rise to labor shortage on the one hand and furnished the possibility of exploitation on the other. So the historical conditions became ripe for the appearance of the slave system. The earliest slaves were not members of the same clan or tribe, but were prisoners taken from other clans or tribes through war. Instead of being killed or adopted into the clan as was the case in the past, they were now forced to engage in slave labor and supply more labor power for the development of production. Engels pointed out: "Slavery, first limited to prisoners of war, already paved the way to the enslavement of fellow members of the tribe and even of the gens." ("The Origin of Family, Private Property and State," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV, p. 104) Subsequently, some poor and bankrupt members of the tribe and even clan were driven into slavery because of their failure to pay off their debts or for other reasons. It was in this way that two antagonistic classes--slaves and slave-owners--appeared within the clan society and developed step by step.

The establishment of the ruling position of the slave-owner class played a vital role in the extensive employment of slave labor and in the promotion of production. This was a major advance at that time. However, once slave-owners possessed slaves, they adopted barbaric, almost beastlike means to compel slaves to undertake heavy labor without end. When a slave-owner died, some slaves were even killed and buried with him. In a tomb of the late period of primitive society in Liuwan, eastern Chinghai, signs of burial of slaves with the dead were found. A young female slave, lying on her side and her limbs coiled up, was buried outside the coffin of her master, one leg crushed under the coffin. This was evidence of class oppression already practiced at that time.

In the late period of primitive society, although leaders of clans or tribes were produced through elections, their functions were in fact monopolized by those wealthy and prominent families, and an hereditary system came into existence. At that time, the differentiation between mental and manual labor appeared as well. Leaders of clans or tribes who at first were not detached from productive labor were now completely detached from productive labor, lorded it over the laboring people, and lived on exploiting the labor of others. Thus, the power in the hands of the small number of

leaders no longer served the fellow members of the clan but became ruling force oppressing their fellow members. As the contradictions between slaves and slave-owners were daily intensified, the state finally appeared as an instrument of the dictatorship of the slave-owner class.

The historical process of the dissolution of primitive society and of the earliest class differentiation in our country tells us that the evolution from public to private ownership went through a very long historical period, during which such social factors as the emergence of private wealth and the concept of private ownership, the appearance of differences in grades, commodities and exchange through money and the usurpation of wealth by a small number of people vested with special power played an important role in pushing and promoting the dissolution of the primitive public ownership and the birth of classes. In the subsequent class society lasting for several thousand years with the exploiting classes in the ruling position, and particularly in capitalist society, the contradictions between the exploiting and the exploited classes continued to intensify and the gaps between the rich and the poor increasingly widened. This was also closely related to the fact that these social factors were fully developed and fixed in legal form. It can be seen that these factors also played an important role in promoting the subsequent confrontation between classes and continual class differentiation.

The historical conditions of today are basically different from those of the late period of primitive society. However, history often provides some lessons for the present. The slave-owner class, like the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie, underwent a process of turning from revolutionary to reactionary, from being real tigers to paper tigers. When we are studying the earliest class differentiation, we do so as part of the process of studying the future elimination of classes.

Those social factors which played a progressive role in the process of historical development, in the transformation from public to private ownership in primitive society, are now playing a disintegrating role in the socialist public ownership. As classes and class struggle still exist in socialist society, in spite of the fact that the socialist relations of production have been established on the basis of public ownership, the question of who wins over whom between socialism and capitalism has not yet been settled. The concept of private ownership which was formed over several thousand years is still seriously restricting people's thinking. At the same time, since the system of distribution according to work is still practiced in socialist society, factual inequality still exists in distribution, and differences in living standards between members of society still persist. Bourgeois rights are still present today, and though historically inevitable, they are after all traces left over from the old society and provide the soil for engendering capitalism. Inside the Party there are still people in power who take the capitalist road and who may use their power to alter the Party's correct line, take possession of wealth by legal as well as illegal means, turn public property into private, and become bourgeois elements sucking

the blood of workers and peasants. If we do not restrict bourgeois rights under the dictatorship of the proletariat nor struggle against capitalist roaders, socialist public ownership will easily degenerate into capitalist private ownership and capitalism will be restored.

Whether to restrict or to strengthen and extend bourgeois rights is an important aspect of the struggle between the two classes and two lines. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, did his utmost to oppose restriction of bourgeois rights and blatantly voiced his opposition to Chairman Mao's instruction on the question of the theory of proletarian dictatorship. His aim is to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and oppose the creation of conditions for the abolition of all classes and the eventual realization of communism. The struggle between restriction of bourgeois rights and counter-restriction will surely go on for a long time in the future. While the transition of the classless primitive society to the slave society with classes was spontaneous, for us to advance from the class society toward the classless communist society we must consciously master the objective laws of historical development. For this reason, we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching, "read some more Marxist-Leninist works," and study the theory of proletarian dictatorship well. We must take class struggle as the key link, persist in the Party's basic line, criticize revisionism, restrict bourgeois rights, gradually narrow the three major differences, and fight to the end for the realization of the lofty goal of communism!

* * *

New Aristocrats Who Refuse to Be Equal of Workers

- on the Soviet play "From the Life of a Businesslike Woman"

by

Fan I-p'ing (范毅平)

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In recent years, a "businesslike woman" called Anna Georgievna has been in the limelight of the theater in the Soviet Union. She received lavish praise from Brezhnev in his report at the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionist party. What made Brezhnev speak so highly of this woman? If one looks at the play, one sees the reason: this "businesslike woman" is exceptionally competent to the work of carrying out Brezhnev's counter-revolutionary line.

This "businesslike woman" is the director of a textile mill with a history of 140 years. She is literally a Brezhnev in the mill. When a workshop fails to fulfill its plan, she orders workers of all workshops to work overtime on holidays. When a worker does not submit himself to her regulations and rules, she rebukes, ridicules and abuses him and even threatens to withdraw his apartment house and sack him. In her relations with workers, she considers herself as the ruler. When Mania Valeeva and other veteran workers demand equality in housing allotments, she reads Mania a lecture:

"No, Mania, we are not all equal. I'm not your equal. Don't feel offended. We had been equal before, but later... I studied in a technical school for four years and in a college for another five and a half years. As a result, we have become unequal. Isn't it right? But you know that my rights are neither obtained by succession nor won in a lottery. Rights are the same to us all."

"We are not all equal"! The good thing she does here is that she speaks frankly of the class relations in Soviet revisionist society, clearly showing the nature of the Soviet revisionist educational system.

As known to all, Brezhnev has repeatedly boasted that in the Soviet Union, which is already under "the condition of developed socialism," "there are no antagonistic classes and exploitation," and that a "new, harmonious relationship" prevails everywhere. However, the competent woman director favored by Brezhnev comes out openly with her dogma of doggedly defending her "inequality" with workers. This is indeed something not very "harmonious" with Brezhnev's remarks. In the Soviet Union today, a handful of bureaucrat-monopoly capitalists control the state power and means of production, manipulate the distribution of social products and subsequently, rule the fate of workers. There is a new exploiting class formed of those up from the Party general secretary, through the ministers down to the managers and directors of all enterprises. The relationship between them and Soviet workers has become one between oppressors and the oppressed and between exploiters and the exploited. Lenin put it well in his essay "The State":

"So long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landlord cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 56) How can Anna living in a modern, high-class house and enjoying the right to oppress workers, be the equal of Mania living in a "barracks" of the 19th century? In this sense, Anna is far more frank than Brezhnev.

What provides much food for thought is that Anna was a member of the working class and "once the equal" of the worker. How did "equality" turn into "inequality"? The change took place simply after she "studied in a technical school for four years and in a college for another five and a half years." It means that when one has received higher education, one cannot be the equal of the worker, should be raised from the position of being the equal of the worker to the position of a bigwig ruling over the workers and naturally, must enjoy all kinds of privileges. Under the rule of the revisionist new Tsars, culture and knowledge, science and technology in the Soviet Union have all become commercialized. Not long ago Brezhnev declared publicly: The "cultural level" is "precious capital." "This capital which you earn in your young days and which will be increased continually thereafter will serve you all your life." This wonderful remark can show more clearly than many lengthy articles the revisionist nature of Soviet education. Having a university diploma is equivalent of earning "precious capital" and acquiring the right to squeeze the workers. Thus knowledge, the crystallization of wisdom created by the laboring people with their sweat and blood through generations, is playing the role of capital in sucking the blood of the laboring people and turns into a tool for the new bourgeois aristocrats to govern the so-called "people of lower classes."

To turn knowledge into a tool of placing people under domination and oppression is not anyting created by Anna or discovered by Brezhnev, but represents a common feature of all exploiting classes both ancient and modern. From Confucius and Mencius, representatives of the declining slave-owning class in our country who said that "gentlemen work with their minds and the little men work with their might" to the feudal men of letters who advocated that "of all callings in the world, book studying is the highest" and all the way down to the European bourgeois scholars who claimed "knowledge is strength," the mastery of culture has been regarded as capital for the oppression and exploitation of the people. As everyone knows, the differences between mental and physical labor are one of the important conditions for the creation of class distinctions. In primitive society there were no, and could not be, "people who work with their might" and "people who work with their minds." Only due to social division of work and the development of productive forces and following the appearance of classes and the formation of states did the so-called "people who work with their minds" appear in human history. From then on, cultural and scientific knowledge has been monopolized by "people who work with their minds" detached directly from productive labor and becomes a hereditary tool for all exploiting classes. In the capitalist society, the antithesis between mental and physical labor has become "one of the principal sources of modern social inequality." ("The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 253) The duty of the proletarian revolution is to eliminate such inequality. Now, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has impudently sung the praises of the inequality between "mental laborers" and "physical laborers," and this precisely shows that in their society with "developed socialism," what is "developed" is actually capitalism.

Another reason why Anna has become a great favorite of Brezhnev's is that both of them take higher education as a stepping-stone by which they can ride roughshod over the workers and peasants. It is precisely Brezhnev and his like who, after becoming "Red specialists," think they are higher than others, are reluctant to become the equal of the workers and do their utmost to pursue, strengthen and extend bourgeois rights and that part of inequality brought by them, thereby becoming vampires riding over the heads of the workers and peasants. These capitalist roaders inside the Party are the most dangerous enemies of the proletariat. When opportunity arises, they usurp the power of the Party and state, and restore capitalism in an all-round way. Cherishing a deep-seated hatred for workers, these new bourgeois elements suppress and exploit the people more ruthlessly than the old-line capitalists did. On the surface, their rights, as Anna argued, are not obtained "by succession." But their right of inheritance is safeguarded and upheld by the Soviet revisionist educational and social system. In order to be a high-ranking official, one must have a higher education. A higher education is the prerequisite to a high post. In his report to the 25th Party Congress, Brezhnev boasted that "at present, 99.5 percent of the secretaries of the central committees of the communist parties, and the territorial and regional committees of the party have a higher education, and more than 70 percent of them have engineering, technical and agricultural training.... Among the secretaries of city and district committees, 99.2 percent have a higher education, with 60 percent of them specialists in industry and agriculture. This line should be further pursued with even greater persistence." Anna is a natural product of this counter-revolutionary line and at the same time its fanatical pursuer. It is through this "business-like woman" Anna and her doctrine of inequality that the proletariat and the revolutionary people all over the world have come to see the harsh truth of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and have come to realize that "this line" which Brezhnev vowed to pursue "with even greater persistence" means paradise for a handful of new aristocrats and hell for the laboring people.

The lesson of the Soviet Union going revisionist teaches us that after seizing power, the proletariat should not only carry out socialist revolution in the economic field, but also persist in exercising all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all fields of culture. Because of the unavoidable existence of the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labor and bourgeois rights in a socialist society, actual inequality still exists between the intellectuals of higher learning and the masses of workers and peasants. These are vestiges of capitalism. Around this inequality evolves an acute struggle between the two classes and the two lines: whether to restrict, reduce and create conditions to eliminate it step by step, or to extol and expand it. By blowing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing openly oppose sharing of equality by university students with workers and peasants? Whether one shares this equality or not tells which class he belongs to. If he shares such equality, it means he is willing to join the workers, peasants and soldiers in making revolution and serve them wholeheartedly; otherwise, it means that he wants to become a new aristocrat riding

roughshod over the workers and peasants, thinking that reading some books has given him capital. People of the latter category have no future in our country; to find a way out, they must work for capitalist restoration. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's line is in class nature identical with that of Brezhnev's. One may read this play if he wants to know what China would become if Teng Hsiao-p'ing succeeded in his plot. In this sense, "From the Life of a Business-like Woman" is good teaching material by negative example, and Anna, a woman mill director highly praised by Brezhnev, is a good teacher by negative example.

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